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MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

VOL. I.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG,

BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsunt aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. CICERO.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

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INTRODUCTION.

AT the æra of the Revolution, the grand fabric of liberty, which it had been the labor of ages to erect in this iſland, was at length completed; and in one of the principal nations of the earth, a ſyſtem of Government was by general aſſent eſtabliſhed, which had for its baſis the unalienable rights of man, and profeſſing as its grand end and object, the happineſs of the people. The deſign of the following Memoirs is to ſhew, by an impartial delineation of the intereſting events of the ſucceeding reigns, how far this end has been kept in view, how far it has been deviated from, and in what reſpects the general ſyſtem of freedom is ſtill ſuſceptible of enlargement and ſecurity. In conſequence of the happy emancipation of theſe realms, by the expulſion of a wretched and mercileſs bigot, we were neceſſarily involved in a war with France, then in the zenith of proſperity, and governed by a monarch of the moſt aſpiring ambition, ſupported by a degree of power truly formidable. After a long and bloody conflict, however, France was compelled to relin-

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quiſh her projects in favor of the abdicated Houſe of Stuart; and to acknowledge, by a formal and ſolemn treaty, WILLIAM Prince of Orange as King of Great Britain. From this period, a new ſcene opens to our view; and England, confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the poſſeſſion of her own liberty, appears in the high and exalted character of the Defender of the Liberties of Europe. And it is chiefly through the efforts of this country, in which the ſacred flame of freedom was happily preſerved, that Europe was able to withſtand, and at length effectually to baffle and defeat, the vaſt hopes and projects of LOUIS XIV., who ſeemed to extend his views to no leſs than univerſal dominion. Scarcely was the treaty of Ryſwick ſigned *, when intrigues and negotiations were revived and proſecuted by all the European Courts, with unintermitted and almoſt unprecedented ardor and activity. The declining health of the King of Spain was the cauſe of this mighty internal agitation; at whoſe deceaſe it became a matter of great and anxious doubt, upon whom the ſucceſſion of that vaſt monarchy would devolve. The two moſt potent claimants were, the Emperor Leopold as head and heir-general of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Dauphin of France, who was deſcended from Iſabella eldeſt daughter of Philip IV. whoſe marriage, however, was accompanied by a formal renunciation of her eventual pretenſions to the

* A. D. 1697.

Spaniſh

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Spaniſh Crown, which would otherwiſe, according to the rules of ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed in Spain, have indubitably ſuperſeded all other claims. The grand object of the ambition, both of the King and Kingdom of Spain, was to ſecure, and to which of all the different claimants was apparently a very ſubordinate conſideration, the entire and undivided devolution of the Spaniſh monarchy; which included not only Spain and the Indies, but the two Sicilies, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries; and which had long been in a ſtate of extreme political debility, bending, as it were, beneath the preſſure of its own enormous weight.

King William, however, who had no other end in view than to maintain the balance of power, and to preſerve the general tranquillity of Europe, paid little attention to national prejudices originating in pride and folly, or even, as it muſt be acknowledged, to national rights and privileges, in the meaſures which he ſcrupled not to adopt, for the accompliſhment of purpoſes ſo deſirable and important. He concluded, therefore, with Louis, a ſecret Treaty of Partition, by which, at the deceaſe of the King of Spain, the two Sicilies, and all the poſſeſſions of Spain eaſtward of the Pyrenées, were to be for ever united to the French monarchy; the Duchy of Milan was allotted to the Emperor; and it was agreed, that the kingdom of Spain, and its remaining appendages, ſhould revert to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, who was deſcended from

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the ſecond daughter of Philip IV. father of the reigning Monarch. This plan, however, being rendered abortive by the death of the young Prince, another treaty was concerted without the knowledge or participation of the Court of Madrid, by which, in addition to her former allotment, France obtained the important Duchies of Lorraine and Bar, the Duchy of Milan being ceded to the Duke of Lorraine by way of equivalent; and the Arch-duke Charles II. ſon to the Emperor was ſubſtituted as heir to the monarchy of Spain, in the room of the Electoral Prince. The King of Spain, from whom this treaty could not long remain concealed, exaſperated at the conduct of King William, and ſoftened by the attentive and adulatory court paid to him by Louis, who dexterouſly contrived to throw the whole odium of this tranſaction upon the King of England, was at length prevailed upon, notwithſtanding his former predilection for the Emperor, to make a will, by which he nominated as his ſole heir the Duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon to the Dauphin; who, ſupported by the power of France, would, as the Catholic King was inceſſantly and flatteringly told, be able to prevent what he ſo much dreaded, the diſmemberment of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The death of that Monarch taking place after a ſhort interval, the Court of Verſailles declared its determination of accepting the will, notwithſtanding

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ſtanding the formal renunciation of the Infanta Iſabella, and the actual exiſtence of the Treaty of Partition; alleging, "that as the object of that treaty was the preſervation of the general tranquillity, and that object could not, in preſent circumſtances, be obtained by a ſtrict adherence to this engagement, a departure from the letter of the treaty was clearly juſtifiable, if it aroſe ſolely from a deſire of acting in more perfect conformity to the ſpirit of it."

At the meeting of Parliament, in which the Tory intereſt now predominated, the partition treaty was reprobated without any reſerve, as a meaſure unjuſt in its origin, and diſgraceful in its iſſue. It was ſtyled, in the vehemence of debate, "a felonious treaty;" and ſo high did the reſentment and indignation of the Commons ariſe, that the Lords Somers, Haliſax, Orford, and Portland were actually impeached at the bar of the Houſe of Peers, as the principal adviſers and promoters of this treaty, which was in reality the ſole project of the King himſelf, whoſe conduct on this occaſion, notwithſtanding the rectitude of his motives, muſt be acknowledged not eaſily reconcilable to the dictates either of juſtice or policy.

The Nation in general, however, entertained the moſt alarming apprehenſions at this vaſt and unexpected addition to the power of the Houſe of Bourbon; and their fears and jealouſies were

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kindled into rage by the impolitic conduct of Louis, who, on the death of King James, which happened about this time, formally recognized the pretended Prince of Wales as true and lawful Sovereign of Great Britain. The King, encouraged by the prevailing diſpoſition of the Nation, entered into an alliance with the Emperor and the United Provinces, in which all Kings, Princes and States were invited to join, in order to obtain ſatisfaction for the Houſe of Auſtria, and ample and permanent ſecurity for the preſervation of the common liberties of Europe. The Parliament being diſſolved, another was ſummoned to meet in December 1701, in which the Whigs again recovered their aſcendancy; and the royal ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, recommending, in very animated and energetic language, unanimity in the proſecution of the moſt vigorous and deciſive meaſures, was received with enthuſiaſtic and unbounded applauſe. "I promiſe myſelf," ſaid the King, "you are met together full of that juſt ſenſe of the common danger of Europe, and that reſentment of the late proceedings of the French King, which has been ſo fully and univerſally expreſſed in the loyal and ſeaſonable addreſſes of my people. The eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament. All matters are at a ſtand, till your reſolutions are known. Let me conjure you to diſappoint the only hopes of our

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our enemies by your unanimity. I have ſhewn, and will always ſhew, how deſirous I am to be the common father of all my people. Do you, in like manner, lay aſide parties and diviſions. Let there be no other diſtinction heard of among us for the future, but of thoſe who are for the Proteſtant Religion and the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and of thoſe who mean a Popiſh Prince and a French Government.—If you do in good earneſt deſire to ſee England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Proteſtant Intereſt, it will appear by your right improving the preſent opportunity." The King, the Parliament, and the Nation ſeemed now animated with the ſame ſpirit, and in no period of his reign had William attained to ſo great a height of popularity as at the preſent criſis; and all Europe, fixing their attention upon this Monarch, and regarding him with grateful and affectionate veneration, as the great aſſertor of its liberties—as the head, heart, and hand of the confederacy—was eager with the expectation of ſeeing him once more in the field, leading on to battle the armies of that grand alliance, originally projected by him, and now revived with freſh ſpirit and vigor; and which, in the preſent exhauſted ſtate of France, it was preſumed, could ſcarcely fail to be attended with the moſt ſignal and glorious ſucceſs. The King, however, per-

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ceived his health and ſtrength rapidly declining; and he declared to the Earl of Portland, that he ſhould not live to ſee another ſummer. On the 21ſt of February, in riding to Hampton-Court from Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and his collar-bone was fractured by the violence of the ſhock. Though no immediate ſymptoms of danger appeared, this accident haſtened his diſſolution, which took place *March* 8, 1702, in the 52d year of his age. The recital of the actions of this Monarch forms his beſt and higheſt eulogium. His character was diſtinguiſhed by virtues rarely found amongſt princes—moderation, integrity, ſimplicity, beneficence, magnanimity. Time, which has caſt a veil over his imperfections, has added luſtre to his many great and admirable qualities. His political views were in the higheſt degree laudable and upright. He had true ideas of the nature and ends of Government: and the beneficial effects of his noble and heroic exertions will probably deſcend to the lateſt generations; rendering his name juſtly dear to the friends of civil and religious liberty, and his memory ever glorious and immortal.

Never did the death of any monarch, that of Guſtavus Adolphus in the midſt of his career of victories againſt the Houſe of Auſtria perhaps excepted, excite throughout the kingdoms of Europe more general grief and conſternation than that of King

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King WILLIAM. Though the grand alliance againſt France was now completed, the different powers, of which this vaſt body was compoſed, deprived by this unexpected ſtroke of the Hero in whoſe wiſdom and rectitude they confided, and under whoſe banners they had been accuſtomed to engage, no longer exhibited any ſymptoms of animation or vigor. Such was the prevailing dread of the power of France, which from the commencement of the adminiſtration of Cardinal Richelieu had been elevated to the preſent alarming height by an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of military triumphs, that the alliance now formed was conſidered as by no means adequate to the accompliſhment of its object in caſe of the defection of England; and how far Anne of Denmark, who now ſwayed the ſceptre of that powerful kingdom, was diſpoſed to adopt the counſels and purſue the mighty projects formed by her illuſtrious predeceſſor, was conſidered as a queſtion highly problematical. The doubt, however, was quickly reſolved; for the Queen, who was laudably ambitious of popularity, finding the Nation and Parliament ſtrongly inclined to war, and influenced by the repreſentations of the Earls of Marlborough and Godolphin, who demonſtrated the imminent danger to which the liberties of Europe would be expoſed, were England to act with indifference or indeciſion in the preſent criſis, declared her reſo-

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lution to fulfil, in their utmoſt extent, all the poli-tical engagements of the late King. To give efficacy to this reſolution, the Earl of Godolphin was placed at the head of the Treaſury, and the Earl of Marlborough advanced to the rank of Captain-General of all her Majeſty's forces, to the extreme ſatisfaction of the Allies, who had, from his paſt ſervices, already formed very high ideas of his military talents. This Nobleman was alſo inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from her Majeſty; and ſent into Holland, in order to concert meaſures with the States, and to aſſure them, as well as the other Powers of the Alliance, whoſe ambaſſadors were aſſembled at the Hague, of the Queen's favorable ſentiments and zealous attachment to the common cauſe and intereſt. In purſuance of the ſpirited exertions of this able negotiator, war was declared againſt France on the very ſame day at Vienna, London, and the Hague, to the ſurpriſe and chagrin of the court of Verſailles, which had entertained the flattering hope that the projects of the Allies would be entirely diſconcerted by the death of the King of England, and had received the intelligence of that event with the moſt indecent marks of exultation. The war commenced with the ſieges of Keiſerſwart and Landau, both which fortreſſes ſurrendered to the arms of the Allies, after a very long and vigorous reſiſtance. The Earl of Marlborough arriving at the camp in June, immediately

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ately took upon him the command of the allied army; the Earl of Athlone, who had pretenſions in quality of Veldt-Mareſchal of the Dutch forces to divide the command, and whoſe military fame was not inconſiderable, being obliged by the States to relinquiſh his claim. The French army under Marechal Boufflers, precipitately retiring before the Allies, the Earl of Marlborough ſucceſſively inveſted and captured the towns of Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenſwart, and Liege; and, by the judgment and ſkill with which he conducted all his meaſures, confirmed the confidence of the public, and fully eſtabliſhed his reputation as an able and enterpriſing General. Very ſplendid ſucceſs alſo attended the naval operations of the preſent ſummer: for though the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke failed in their attempt on Cadiz, they received intelligence, on their return to England, that the Spaniſh Flota had put into the port of Vigo; and, attacking that place with reſiſtleſs intrepidity, broke the immenſe boom which extended acroſs the entrance of the harbor, reduced the forts by which it was defended, and deſtroyed or captured the whole fleet of men of war and galleons which had retreated thither for ſecurity.

When the new Parliament met, an addreſs was preſented to the Queen by the Commons, congratulating the ſucceſs of her Majeſty's arms, which had, as they choſe to expreſs it, ſignally *retrieved*

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trieved the ancient honor and glory of the Engliſh nation. This was univerſally underſtood as an oblique reflection upon the memory of the late King; and it ſtrongly indicated the predominance of the Tories, who were now the favored and governing party. Of this, however, a much more important and deciſive proof was afforded, by the introduction of a bill againſt Occaſional Conformity—a practice by which the Church was declared to be expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. This bill, which was carried through the Houſe of Commons by a prodigious majority, was, after long and vehement debate, thrown out by the Lords.

Early in the ſpring, A. D. 1703, the Earl, now Duke of Marlborough, paſſed the ſea, and, at the head of the Allies, opened the campaign with the ſiege of Bonne; after the reduction of which, he marched towards the French army commanded by Marechal Villeroy, with an intention to give them battle: but at his approach, that General thought proper to retire within his lines, after ſetting fire to his camp; and the Duke was obliged to ſatisfy himſelf with the conqueſt of the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres. In the courſe of this year, the King of Pruſſia and Duke of Savoy joined the grand alliance; and the Arch-duke Charles, ſecond ſon to the Emperor, who now aſſumed the title of King of Spain, was convoyed to

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to Liſbon by an Engliſh ſquadron, as the claimant of a kingdom in which he did not as yet poſſeſs a ſingle foot of land.

In the enſuing ſeſſion of Parliament, the Occaſional Conformity Bill was again revived by the High-Church faction; the moſt violent partiſans of which attempted, though in vain, to ſecure the ſucceſs of it by annexing it as a tack to the Land-tax Bill. This was abſolutely diſcountenanced by the Miniſters of the Crown, and the bill itſelf but faintly ſupported by the Court party, the great leaders of which, Godolphin and Marlborough, now began, from political motives, to connect themſelves with the Whigs: and though the bill paſſed by a majority of fifty voices, it was again rejected by the Lords, who would not even deign to give it a ſecond reading. This Parliament is diſtinguiſhed in the Engliſh annals by the perpetual miſunderſtandings which prevailed between the two Houſes; and this winter a very remarkable diſpute aroſe, which originated in an accidental and apparently inconſiderable cauſe. The ſhameleſs and ſcandalous manner in which the Commons were wont to decide upon all petitions relative to conteſted elections in favor of the predominant party, was at this time perhaps more than uſually notorious: and the returning officers, who happened to be in that intereſt, were emboldened by it to exerciſe the

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the groſſeſt partiality in admitting or rejecting votes, knowing it might be done with perfect eaſe and impunity. At the laſt general election, however, the vote of one Aſhby, an inhabitant of the borough of Ayleſbury, being rejected by White the returning officer, he had the ſpirit and reſolution to commence an action at common law againſt White for illegally depriving him of his franchiſe; and obtained a verdict for damages, at the enſuing aſſizes for the county of Bucks. The Court of Queen's Bench, however, being moved to quaſh all proceedings in this matter, as contrary to the privileges of the Houſe of Commons, the three puiſne Judges were of opinion, that the verdict could not be ſuſtained. But that great and upright Magiſtrate, Lord Chief Juſtice Holt, at this time preſiding in the Court, declared in the moſt deciſive terms, "that the verdict in queſtion was both legal and juſt;—that though the Houſe of Commons poſſeſſed a ſeparate and independent juriſdiction, agreeably to the conſtitution of Parliament, ſo far as to determine, in caſe of appeal, which of the different candidates were duly elected; yet that their authority did not ſuperſede the common courſe of judicial proceedings in the Courts ſitting at Weſtminſter, which founded their deciſions on the known laws of the land, and the evidence which came regularly and properly before them; and which neither could nor

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nor would take cognizance of the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, nor of the grounds of their proceedings. Where a legal right exiſted, and ſuch, ſaid this able Magiſtrate, is the franchiſe of an elector; the Law, of which the Courts of Juſtice are the ſole diſpenſers, will protect him in the enjoyment of that right.—That the Houſe of Commons were not competent to decide judicially, though they might be occaſionally compelled to exerciſe their diſcretion in caſes of this nature, evidently appeared from their utter inability to grant redreſs, whatever might be the magnitude of the injury ſuſtained:—that if this exorbitant claim were once eſtabliſhed, the ſubject might be deprived of his deareſt rights, by the mere arbitrary will and pleaſure of the Houſe of Commons —the moſt flagrant abuſes of power might be committed with impunity, nay with applauſe and triumph, by men holding public offices, who were thus placed beyond the reach of the arm of public juſtice; and by a monſtrous ſoleciſm in legiſlation and juriſprudence, an acknowledged and invaluable right might be groſsly and openly violated, and the injured party remain wholly deſtitute of any legal or regular means of reparation or redreſs." The verdict, notwithſtanding theſe cogent reaſonings, was however reverſed; but the cauſe was, by writ of error, immediately brought before the Houſe of Lords; who, after requiring the opinions

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opinions of the twelve Judges, and debating the matter at great length, and with great ability, determined almoſt unanimouſly to ſuperſede the judgment pronounced in the Queen's Bench, and to affirm the verdict originally given at the County Aſſizes. The Houſe of Commons, enraged at theſe proceedings, declared by a vote of the Houſe, "that Matthew Aſhby having, in contempt of the juriſdiction of that Houſe, commenced and proſecuted an action at common law againſt William White for not receiving his vote at an election for Burgeſſes to ſerve in Parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, was guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that Houſe; and that all attornies, ſolicitors, counſellors, and ſergeants at law, ſoliciting, proſecuting, or pleading in any ſuch cauſe, were guilty of a high breach of the privileges of that Houſe." And they ordered theſe reſolutions, ſigned by the Clerk of the Houſe, to be affixed to Weſtminſter Hall gate. So far, however, was the intrepid Magiſtrate at the head of the Law from being intimidated by this imperious language, that he is ſaid publicly to have declared, that if any meſſenger of the Houſe of Commons preſumed to enter that Hall, in order to ſeize the perſon of any attorney or pleader by virtue of this warrant, he would immediately commit him to Newgate. The Houſe of Lords, on their part, paſſed votes juſtificatory of their own conduct; copies of which were tranſ-

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tranſmitted to all ſheriffs and borough-reeves throughout the kingdom. The Commons, finding the general voice of the people declare ſtrongly in favor of their antagoniſts, ſeemed diſpoſed to let it reſt in its preſent ſtate, and the judgment of the Lords was duly and regularly executed; upon which, five other inhabitants of the borough of Ayleſbury brought their ſeveral actions for damages, upon the ſame grounds. This threw the Houſe of Commons into a new ferment; and by their own authority they committed theſe five men to priſon, where they lay three months, without however offering to make any ſubmiſſion. After the money bills were paſſed by the Commons, and not till then, a motion being made in the Queen's Bench in behalf of the priſoners, for a *habeas corpus*; the three puiſne Judges declared themſelves of opinion, as before, that the Court could take no cognizance of the matter. But the Chief Juſtice, a man inflexible to ill, and obſtinately juſt, maintained, that a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution: and as it appeared upon the face of the warrant itſelf, that the priſoners had been guilty of no legal offence, unleſs to claim the benefit of the law in oppoſition to a vote of the Houſe of Commons was ſuch, it was his opinion that they ought inſtantly to be diſcharged. This opinion, however, not availing in oppoſition to that

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of the majority of the Bench, the priſoners were remanded; in conſequence of which, they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the Lords. As this, agreeably to the forms of law, could only be obtained by petition to the Crown, the Commons preſented an addreſs to the Queen, humbly requeſting her Majeſty that the writ of error might not be granted; and they alſo took upon them to affirm, that, in this caſe, no writ of error could lie. To this addreſs the Queen with great moderation and prudence replied, that ſhe hoped never to give her faithful Commons any juſt ground of complaint; but to obſtruct the courſe of judicial proceedings was a matter of ſuch high importance, that ſhe thought it neceſſary to weigh and conſider carefully what it might be proper for her to do. The Commons received this anſwer in ſullen ſilence; and immediately ordered the priſoners to be removed from Newgate into the cuſtody of their Serjeant at Arms, leſt they ſhould be diſcharged in conſequence of the Queen's granting a writ of error. They likewiſe reſolved, that the Lawyers who had pleaded on behalf of the priſoners, on the return of the *habeas corpus*, were guilty of a breach of privilege; and ordered them to be taken into cuſtody. The Lords upon this voted, "that, for ſubjects to claim their juſt rights in a courſe of law, was no breach of privilege—that the impriſonment of the men of Ayleſbury was

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was contrary to law—and that the writ of error could not be refuſed, without a violation of MAGNA CHARTA." This was followed by an addreſs to the Queen, humbly beſeeching her Majeſty to give immediate orders for iſſuing the writ of error. The Judges, moreover, now happily recovering from their terrors, ventured to decide, that a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace. And the Queen was pleaſed, in the moſt condeſcending terms, to reply to this addreſs, "that ſhe would certainly have complied with their Lordſhips' requeſt in regard to the writ of error, but that, as it now became neceſſary to put an end to the ſeſſion, ſhe knew it could produce no effect." The Lords, conſidering this as a decided victory, immediately returned their humble thanks to her Majeſty, for this inſtance of her Majeſty's regard for the legal and impartial adminiſtration of public juſtice. The Queen, that very day, March 14, put an end to the ſeſſion; and on the 5th of April 1705 the Parliament was diſſolved by proclamation. "It was no ſmall bleſſing," ſays Biſhop Burnet, with his accuſtomed ſolemnity, "to the Queen, and to the Nation, that they got well out of ſuch hands." And it muſt indeed be acknowledged, that the violence and malignity manifeſted in their general conduct, were productive of much leſs evil than might reaſonably be apprehended.

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As, in order to exhibit a connected view of this memorable controverſy, the order of events has been ſomewhat anticipated; it is now neceſſary to advert to various preceding tranſactions of great moment and importance. Though it muſt be allowed, that nothing can be more unintereſting or uninſtructive, in general, than the detail of military operations; yet, as the campaign of the year 1704 is one of the moſt remarkable in modern hiſtory, and diſplays the unrivalled talents of the Duke of Marlborough in the moſt brilliant and ſtriking point of view, it cannot but excite ſuch emotions of curioſity as demand more than ordinary attention. In the month of January, Count Wrattiſlau, the Imperial Ambaſſador, preſented a memorial to the Britiſh Court, in which he repreſented the alarming and dangerous ſituation to which the Emperor and the Empire were reduced, in conſequence of the rapid ſucceſs of the French arms in Germany, and the defection of the Elector of Bavaria, who had entered into a ſtrict confederacy with France; had joined the armies of that monarchy with all his forces; had ſeized the cities of Augſbourg, Ulm, and Paſſau, and threatened to attack even the Imperial capital of Vienna itſelf. The Emperor, therefore, implored the aid and protection of the Queen and People of ENGLAND, to ſave the ROMAN EMPIRE from impending ruin. This application, ſo glori-

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ous to the Engliſh nation, was not made in vain. The Duke of Marlborough received orders from the Queen, to concert with the States the moſt eligible means of accompliſhing this great object. On his arrival at the Hague, he repreſented to their High Mightineſſes the neceſſity of making a powerful effort for the relief of the Empire; and propoſed that, as the frontiers of Holland were now perfectly ſecure, he ſhould be permitted to march with the grand confederate army to the banks of the Moſelle, there to fix the ſeat of the war. And as the French Court would, in conſequence of this diverſion, be led to entertain ſerious apprehenſions for the ſafety of their own territories, they would be compelled to deſiſt from any farther proſecution of their vaſt and ambitious projects in Germany. Under this veil did that great Commander conceal his real deſign, which he communicated only to the Penſionary Heinſius, and two or three other leading perſons, whoſe influence might obtain a ſanction to the meaſure whenever a public avowal of it ſhould be deemed neceſſary. The conſent of the States being with ſome difficulty procured, and the campaign at length opened, the propoſed march to the Moſelle accordingly took place. Marechal Tallard, who commanded the French army, apprehending Traerbach to be in danger, and that the Duke's intentions were to penetrate into France on that

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ſide, took no ſteps to obſtruct his Grace's farther progreſs to the eaſt. To the amazement, however, not only of the French General, to whom the Duke's movements were wholly incomprehenſible, but to all Europe, whoſe attention was now fixed on this intereſting ſcene, the allied army paſſed the Rhine May 26, and, in a few days after, the Maine and the Neckar. On his arrival at Ladenburg, June 3, the Duke thought proper to throw off the maſque; and he wrote from thence a letter to the States, acquainting their High Mightineſſes, that he had received orders from his Sovereign, the Queen of England, to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures to deliver the Empire from the oppreſſion of France—that, for this purpoſe, he was proceeding on his march to the Danube, and he hoped their High Mightineſſes would not hefitate to allow their troops to ſhare in the glory of this enterpriſe. The States, finding it impracticable to recede, thought it adviſable to comply with a good grace, and immediately diſpatched a courier to inform the Duke that his deſign met with their unanimous approbation—that they entruſted their troops entirely to his diſpoſal, placing the moſt perfect reliance on his Grace's ſkill, experience, and diſcretion. This difficulty being thus happily ſurmounted, the Duke proceeded on his expedition; and at Mildenheim he had an interview with Prince Eugene,

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in which theſe two conſummate Generals agreed upon their future plan of operations. The Prince expreſſing his admiration of the fine appearance of the troops after ſo long and fatiguing a march, and particularly of the uncommon ſpirit apparent in their countenances, the Duke of Marlborough politely replied, that this might be eaſily accounted for, by the animation which the preſence of his Highneſs could never fail to excite. On the firſt of July, the Duke, being previouſly joined by the Imperial army, came in ſight of the lines of Schellenburg, in which the flower of the Bavarian troops lay ſtrongly entrenched, near the town of Donavert, ſituated on the banks of the Danube. Early the next morning, his Grace reſolved upon the attack; and after a very gallant reſiſtance the lines were forced with great ſlaughter, and Donavert immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. But this ſucceſs, though brilliant, was loſt in the ſplendor of the ſubſequent victory. The Elector of Bavaria obſtinately refuſing to liſten to terms of accommodation, and being at length joined by Marechal Tallard, who had with great danger and difficulty traverſed the immenſe foreſts of Suabia with a view to his relief; it was reſolved by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, Auguſt 13, to engage the combined army of French and Bavarians, then poſted near the village of BLEINHEIM, a name ever memorable in

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the annals of Britiſh and Gallic hiſtory. The enemy were very advantageouſly encamped on a riſing ground. Their right flank was covered by the Danube, and the village of Bleinheim, into which the Marechal had thrown a great body of his beſt troops: their left wing, commanded by Marechal Marſin, and the Elector in perſon, was protected by the village of Lutzingen and the adjoining woods; and they had in front of the camp a rivulet, whoſe banks were ſteep, and the bottom marſhy. It being determined that the Duke of Marlborough ſhould command the attack againſt Marechal Tallard; about noon, the left wing of the allied army paſſed the rivulet without moleſtation, and drew up in order of battle on the other ſide. So unaccountably ſupine were the French commanders on this occaſion, that they ſuffered even the ſecond line of cavalry to form, without deſcending from the heights, of which they were in poſſeſſion, into the meadows which occupied the interval between the camp and the rivulet. The allies now aſcending the hill in a firm compacted body, the enemy advanced with great ſpirit and reſolution, and a furious and bloody conteſt enſued. The French at length giving way on all ſides, Marechal Tallard made an effort to gain the bridge thrown over the Danube between Bleinheim and Hochſted; but, being cloſely purſued, vaſt numbers were either killed

or

or forced into the river, and the Marechal himſelf was made a priſoner. The troops incloſed in the village of Bleinheim, being now left deſtitute of ſupport, were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. On the right, where Prince Eugene commanded, though the ſucceſs was not ſo deciſive, the Elector, and Marechal Marſin, were compelled, after a ſevere conflict, to retreat in confuſion, and with very great loſs; and, upon the whole, this was one of the moſt complete and important victories ever gained. The French force in Germany was in effect annihilated. Excluſive of the prodigious carnage during the heat of the action, ſeventy entire ſquadrons and battalions were either captured at Bleinheim, or drowned in the Danube; and the ſhattered remains of their army, after the loſs of forty thouſand veteran troops, were utterly incapable of making head againſt the victors. This day entirely changed the aſpect of affairs in Europe. France was no longer formidable. After her long ſucceſſion of triumphs, ſhe now experienced a fatal and ſudden reverſe of fortune, by which ſhe was overwhelmed with amazement and conſternation. Nor has ſhe ever been able to regain that high aſcendency in the ſcale of power which ſhe poſſeſſed previouſly to that great event. The Elector of Bavaria, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, effected a retreat, or rather made his eſcape, and joined Marechal Villeroy in

Flanders,

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Flanders, leaving the Electorate at the mercy of the conquerors, who, after reducing Ingoldſtadt, and the other fortreſſes of the Duchy, glorioufly concluded the campaign with the ſieges of Landau, Triers, and Traerbach. And in the month of December the Duke of Marlborough returned in triumph to England, where he was received with unbounded tranſports of joy. During the courſe of the preſent ſummer, Admiral Sir George Rooke, by a very brilliant coup-de-main, ſurpriſed the fortreſs of Gibraltar, which, notwithſtanding the repeated efforts of the Spaniards, ſtill remains in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. It is, however, a moſt expenſive, invidious, and uſeleſs conqueſt; and while it is, by an ungenerous and pernicious policy, detained from the rightful owners, it is ſcarcely poſſible that a cordial and ſincere friendſhip can long ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Spain.

In April 1705, the Duke of Marlborough again paſſed into Holland. He had now formed a real intention to execute the project, reſpecting which the French were ſo needleſsly apprehenſive the preceding year—to penetrate into France on the ſide of the Moſelle. For which purpoſe, he paſſed that river in the beginning of June, expecting a powerful co-operation from Prince Louis of Baden, who commanded the Imperial army on the Rhine. But that General, who was univerſally believed

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to regard the Duke of Marlborough with malignant and envious eyes, failing in every part of his engagements, his Grace was compelled to retreat with ſome precipitation into Flanders, where Marechal Villeroy had taken advantage of the Duke's abſence, to capture the town of Huy, and to inveſt the city of Liege. The Duke, however, not only raiſed the ſiege of that city, and recaptured Huy, but obliged the French General to retire within his lines, which he immediately attacked with his wonted ſucceſs; but the Marechal retreating to the ſtrong camp of Parcke, near Louvaine, no farther impreſſion could be made on that frontier during the remainder of this campaign. On the 5th of May died the Emperor Leopold, who had experienced, during his long reign, very wonderful and frequent viciſſitudes of fortune. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, Joſeph, King of the Romans. If, from the diſappointments ſuſtained by the allies during this ſummer, the French Court derived any hope of recovering their former ſuperiority, the enſuing campaign proved them to be wholly fallacious. For the Engliſh General aſſembling the confederate forces early in the ſpring of 1706, marched againſt the French army, commanded by the Marechals Villeroy and Marſin, and the Elector of Bavaria, who had received orders from the French Court to riſque a general engagement; and on Whitſunday the two armies joined battle near the

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the village of Ramilies. M. Villeroy, the French Commander in Chief, is ſaid to have made a moſt injudicious diſpoſition; and the troops, who placed little confidence in his ability, diſplayed no marks of ſpirit or courage. In a ſhort time, all was rout and conſternation; and a moſt complete victory was obtained, with inconſiderable loſs. The almoſt entire conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands was the immediate conſequence of it. Louvaine, Mechlin, Bruſſels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, ſubmitted without reſiſtance. Oſtend, Menin, Dendermond, and Aeth, ſurrendered almoſt as ſoon as they were ſummoned. And during this fortunate campaign, the ſucceſs of the allied arms in Spain and Italy was ſcarcely inferior to this uninterrupted ſeries of triumphs in Flanders. The Duke of Savoy, who had acceded to the grand alliance in the hope of being powerfully ſupported by the Emperor, ſeemed to be abandoned to his fate. He defended himſelf, however, with undaunted reſolution, againſt the efforts of the Duc de Vendome, the French General: but, overpowered by the ſuperior force and the great military talents of his antagoniſt, he was at length reduced to take refuge in his capital of Turin, where he was cloſely beſieged by the French army under Marechal Marſin; the Duc de Vendome, after the diſaſter of Ramilies, being recalled in order to take the command of the army in Flanders.

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Flanders. The Imperial Court, determining to make one grand effort in order to relieve the Duke of Savoy in this extremity, directed Prince Eugene, at the head of a powerful army, to march to the relief of Turin. With such ability, and such success, did that celebrated commander execute this important commission, that, after surmounting all the numerous difficulties which obstructed his junction with the Duke, he attacked the French army in their intrenchments before Turin, and gained a most glorious and decisive victory; the unfortunate Marechal Marsin falling in the action. And this event was quickly followed by the final expulsion of the French from Lombardy. A loan, as M. Voltaire relates, being negotiated by the Imperial Court amongst the merchants of London, in order to defray the expence of this expedition; after the battle of Turin, Prince Eugene wrote to the subscribers in the following terms:—"Gentlemen, I have received your remittances, and flatter myself I have laid out the money to your entire satisfaction." The fortune of the war was not less favorable to the allies in the scene of action southward of the Pyrenées. The Arch-duke Charles, recognized as King of Spain by the powers of the alliance, after vainly attempting, by the aid of the King of Portugal, in conjunction with the English and German auxiliaries, to penetrate into that king-

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dom on the weſtern ſide, took a ſudden reſolution, in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, to accompany the Earl of Peterborough on board the fleet commanded by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, on his intended expedition to the eaſtern coaſt of that kingdom: and landing in the province of Catalonia, this Monarch was received by the inhabitants with every demonſtration of joy and affection. Barcelona ſurrendered in the month of October; and the kingdom of Valencia, with its capital, vanquiſhed with ſurpriſing rapidity by the heroic exertions and romantic valor of the Earl of Peterborough, alſo recognized the authority of King Charles. The reigning Monarch, ſeriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of his competitor, made mighty preparations early in the enſuing ſpring for the ſiege of Barcelona, which, being defended by King Charles in perſon, made a very vigorous reſiſtance. The Earl of Peterborough, who flew from Valencia to its relief, made incredible efforts to ſave this capital; which, however, muſt inevitably have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards, had it not been for the critical arrival of the Engliſh fleet; on the appearance of which, Marechal de Teſſé raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, and retired with the broken remains of his army beyond the mountains. The Earl of Peterborough now urged the neceſſity of immediately proceeding to Madrid, in order to form a junction with the Portu-

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Portugueſe, who, finding few obſtacles in their way, had marched to that capital, of which, on the 24th of June, they took quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion. The deciſive counſels of the Engliſh General, happily for Spain, were diſregarded by the new King. For reaſons which doubtleſs appeared to him very important, though it is now difficult to aſcertain them with preciſion, Charles lingered near three months in Catalonia and Arragon—thus allowing his rival full time to recruit his ſhattered forces, and to receive additional ſuccors from France: and on his re-approach to the capital, the Portugueſe army, diſpirited by inaction, ſuſpenſe, and diſappointment, retreated to their own frontier. The Earl of Peterborough, enraged to perceive his expoſtulations fruitleſs, and the golden opportunity loſt, reſigned his commiſſion in high diſguſt, and immediately withdrew from the kingdom. It is related, that when it was once alleged by ſome of King Charles's courtiers, as a reaſon for delaying his march to Madrid, that his Majeſty's equipage and retinue were not ſuch as were requiſite for the magnificence of his public entry into that capital; General Stanhope with warmth replied, "That King William, when he made his deſcent upon England, went to London attended only by a few dragoons; otherwiſe he had loſt his crown." The ſucceſs of the campaign however, upon the whole,

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whole, was ſplendid. At the commencement of it King Charles was cloſely beſieged in Barcelona, and in imminent danger of being made a priſoner; but it terminated in the recovery of Catalonia, the ſecurity of Valencia, and the reduction of Arragon.

But it is now proper to turn our attention to tranſactions of a civil and domeſtic nature. The new Parliament, which met the beginning of the preceding winter *, ſoon diſcovered themſelves to be actuated by a diſpoſition very different from their predeceſſors, by paſſing a ſolemn and almoſt unanimous vote, "That whoever preſumed to aſſert the Church to be in danger under her Majeſty's auſpicious adminiſtration, was an enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom." And the two Houſes joined in an addreſs to the Queen, beſeeching her Majeſty to take effective meaſures for diſcovering and puniſhing the authors and publiſhers of this ſeditious and ſcandalous report. That unanimity which had been ſo long interrupted between the two Legiſlative Aſſemblies, was perfectly reſtored under an Adminiſtration and Parliament, in both of which the principles of Whiggiſm had now gained a complete aſcendency, and which enjoyed the entire confidence of the nation. Public meaſures were concerted with wiſdom, and executed with vigor and ſucceſs; and the general aſpect of the times

* October 1705.

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ſeemed peculiarly favorable to the accompliſhment of that great deſign which the late King had recommended to Parliament, almoſt with his dying breath, and in which every true patriot moſt ardently concurred—an UNION between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This was at preſent an object of greater conſequence than ever; for by an act paſſed by the Parliament of Scotland ſince the acceſſion of the Queen, ſtyled the Act of Security, that Aſſembly was empowered, in caſe of her Majeſty's demiſe without iſſue, to declare a ſucceſſor to the crown of Scotland. And very ſerious apprehenſions were entertained, that a fatal and final ſeparation of the two Britiſh crowns might be the reſult of this dangerous conceſſion *. The Lord Treaſurer Go-

* Such was the alarm excited in the Parliament of England by this Act, that a Bill was immediately introduced and paſſed, declaring the ſubjects of Scotland ALIENS ſo long as it remained in force, prohibiting the importation of cattle into England, or the exportation of wool into Scotland, and empowering the Queen's ſhips to ſeize ſuch Scottiſh veſſels as they ſhould find trading to France. And the Queen was addreſſed to put the towns of Newcaſtle, Carliſle, and Hull, in a ſtate of defence, and to order the militia of the northern counties to be diſciplined and armed; and Lord Godolphin's zeal for the accompliſhment of the Union was certainly invigorated, if not inſpired, by the terrors of an impeachment.

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dolphin, who had, in a moment of intimidation, adviſed the Queen to give the royal aſſent to this Act, which was indeed urged by the Scottiſh Parliament with a vehemence and pertinacity not ſo much the reſult of patriotiſm as of faction, now exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in order to ſurmount a ſeries of obſtacles, which, to a Miniſter of leſs reſolution and perſeverance, would have appeared abſolutely inſuperable. And Commiſſioners being nominated, and conferences held, after very ample diſcuſſion, and a negotiation protracted to the ſpace of many months, the memorable Treaty of Union was at length concluded; which, after being ratified by both Parliaments, received the royal aſſent. And from the 1ſt of May, A. D. 1707, the two kingdoms of England and Scotland became indiſſolubly incorporated, and a proclamation was iſſued to convoke the Firſt Parliament of Great Britain in the month of October. On this occaſion, congratulatory addreſſes were ſent up from all parts of England; but the Scots obſerved a ſullen and expreſſive ſilence. Indeed it cannot be denied that this truly wiſe and ſalutary meaſure was reprobated by the whole Scottiſh nation, and at laſt effected by means which could be juſtified only by the importance and beneficial tendency of the end propoſed by them. The whole weight of regal influence was exerted, every ſpecies of artifice

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fice and intrigue was employed, honors and rewards were laviſhed, even bribery itſelf was undoubtedly practiſed, in order to induce the Scottiſh nobles and demagogues to concur in a tranſaction in the higheſt degree conducive to the public welfare and happineſs. It muſt however be acknowledged, that the honor and dignity of that antient Kingdom ſuffered, in conſequence of this union, ſome degree of diminution. Nor is it poſſible to condemn with much ſeverity the high-ſpirited language of the celebrated Fletcher of Saltoun, who ſcrupled not to affirm in Parliament, "that the intereſt and honor of the nation were betrayed by the Commiſſioners." And when called upon for an explanation, he perſiſted in his charge, alleging "that he could find no other word than *treachery*, to expreſs his ideas of their conduct. It was harſh indeed, but it was truth; and if the Houſe thought him guilty of any offence in making uſe of this expreſſion, he declared himſelf willing to ſubmit to their cenſure." A vote of cenſure, however, no one dared to move. And who can avoid admiring, if not approving, the noble and elevated ſentiments of the Earl of Belhaven, who, in the higheſt ſtrain of eloquence, depictured Caledonia as ſitting in the midſt of the Senate, looking indignantly around her, and covering herſelf with her royal robe, attending the fatal blow, breathing out with tender and paſ-

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ſionate emotion the exclamation, "Et tu quoque, mi fili!"—"I ſee," ſays this animated Orator, "a free and independent kingdom tamely reſigning that which has ever been conſidered amongſt nations as the prize moſt worthy of contention—a power to manage and conduct their own affairs, without any foreign interference or control. We are the ſucceſſors of thoſe who founded our monarchy, framed our laws, and who, during the ſpace of two thouſand years, have handed them down to us with the hazard of their lives and fortunes. Shall we not then zealouſly plead for thoſe rights which our renowned progenitors ſo dearly purchaſed? Shall we hold our peace, when our country is in danger? God forbid! ENGLAND is a great and glorious nation. Her armies are numerous, powerful, and victorious her trophies ſplendid and memorable. She diſpoſes of the fate of kingdoms. Her navy is the terror of Europe. Her trade and commerce encircle the globe: and her capital is the emporium of the univerſe. But we are a poor and obſcure people, in a remote corner of the world, without name, without alliances, and without treaſures. What hinders us then to lay aſide our diviſions, to unite cordially and heartily, when that liberty which is alone our boaſt, when our all, our very exiſtence as a nation, is at ſtake? The enemy is at our gates. Soon will he ſubvert this antient

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and royal throne, and ſeize theſe regalia, the ſacred ſymbols of our liberty and independence. Where are our peers, and our chieftains? Where are the Hamiltons, the Douglaſſes, the Murrays, and the Campbells? Will poſterity believe that ſuch names yet exiſted when the nation was reduced to this laſt extremity of degradation, and that they were not eager in ſuch a cauſe to devote themſelves for their country, and die in the bed of honor? My heart," ſaid this noble Patriot, "is full of grief and indignation, when I conſider the triumph obtained by England, who has, at length, brought this fierce and warlike people under ſubjection, who, for ſo many ages, ſhed the beſt blood of the nation to eſtabliſh their independency. It is ſuperfluous," added he, "to enter into a formal examination of the articles of this treaty; for though we ſhould even receive a *carte blanche* from England, what is this in exchange for our ſovereignty! But does not, in fact, this pretended union amount to a political annihilation? I ſee the Engliſh conſtitution remaining firm. The ſame two Houſes of Parliament, the ſame municipal laws, the ſame commercial Companies, the ſame Courts of Judicature—while WE make an ignominious and entire ſurrender of our national polity, our rights, our liberties, our honor, and our ſafety!"—Theſe were the ſentiments by which the Scottiſh nation was almoſt

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univerſally actuated, and by which a generous and high-ſpirited people could not fail of being at ſuch a criſis very powerfully impreſſed. The ſpeech of Lord Belhaven drew tears of anger and diſdain from his auditors. And it was in vain that a few diſintereſted and diſpaſſionate patriots, who from principle acted in conjunction with the numerous band of courtiers, placemen, and penſioners, who compoſed a majority of the Parliament, forcibly urged the great and ſolid advantages which muſt reſult from this union. "That the actual ſituation of Scotland, in a political view," ſaid one of the Lords Commiſſioners, who addreſſed the Houſe upon this occaſion *, "is diſadvantageous and ineligible, no one will venture to deny. Two kingdoms ſubject to one Sovereign, and having ſeparate intereſts, muſt be liable to endleſs emulations and jealouſies: and the Monarch will, whenever theſe intereſts come, or are ſuppoſed to come, in competition, be obliged to decide in favor of the more powerful kingdom. And the greater the diſparity of power and riches, the greater and more manifeſt will be the partiality; as the experience of a whole century has too fatally evinced. But, to aim at an abſolute ſeparation of the Britiſh Crowns, would be a raſh and romantic project. If, in former ages, the Scots were ſcarcely able, with the moſt heroic

* Mr. Seaton of Pitmedden.

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exertions, to maintain their independency, how could it be imagined poſſible, now, that England had acquired ſuch an immenſe preponderance in the ſcale of power? Were they to ſeek for refuge or ſecurity in the revival of the antient league with France? This would itſelf be a virtual declaration of hoſtility againſt England, and probably accelerate that cataſtrophe which it was its profeſſed object to avert. The policy of Europe would undoubtedly prevent any effectual interference of France in their behalf, in oppoſition to England, the great bulwark of the liberties of Chriſtendom. By an entire ſeparation from England, the internal tranquillity and domeſtic order of the State would be alſo imminently endangered. Is the nation prepared for the reception of a new ſyſtem of laws and juriſprudence? or ſhall we revert to that Gothic conſtitution of government, adapted to the rude and barbarous manners of our anceſtors, and productive of perpetual feuds and implacable animoſities — of devaſtation — outrage and anarchy — and which, previous to the union of the two Crowns, we know the executive power did not poſſeſs energy ſufficient to repreſs? If, then, the connection with England cannot be ſafely diſſolved, and if the political relation in which we now ſtand as to that country, is the ſubject of juſt and grievous complaint; what remains but to form a permanent union of the two King-

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doms, as well as of the two Crowns, on terms of reciprocal amity and advantage? Of the neceſſity and expediency of a firm and durable union, we profeſs indeed an almoſt unanimous conviction—but then it is a federal, and not an incorporative union, for which many of our countrymen entertain a zealous and invincible predilection. But this is not the union which England offers to our acceptance, or which ſhe will herſelf accept. A federal union would be productive of no advantage, would remedy no evil. And where is the guarantee for the obſervance of the articles of a federal compact between two nations, one of which is ſo much ſuperior to the other in riches, power, and number? Hiſtory demonſtrates, that incorporative unions, ſuch as the kingdoms included in the Spaniſh monarchy afford an example of, are ſolid and permanent: but that a federal union is a weak and precarious bond of connection, eaſily diſſolved by intereſt or ambition. Sweden and Denmark were once united by a federal compact—But were peace and concord the reſult of this compact? No—It was the parent of ſtrife, of enmity and oppreſſion; and it terminated in ſcenes of blood and ſlaughter, and in everlaſting ſeparation. Let us not then amuſe ourſelves with words, inſtead of things. By an union of kingdoms, I acknowledge, I comprehend nothing ſhort of an union of power, of government, and of intereſt.

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Till both nations are thus incorporated into one, England will neither extend to us the benefits of her commerce, nor the protection of her arms. By this union, Scotland will be put into the immediate poſſeſſion of advantages to which ſhe could never otherwiſe attain. The ſources of proſperity will be opened to her view, and placed within her reach. We ſhall have ample ſcope for the exerciſe of our national induſtry, in all its various branches. To the vain ambition of independence—to the mere deluſive phantom of royalty, will ſucceed the flouriſhing arts of peace; and Scotland will, by a policy founded on true wiſdom, acquire that ſecurity and happineſs which form the great and genuine end of government. We ſhall, with a juſt increaſe of confidence, ſee our liberty, property, and religion, placed under the guardian care and protection of one Sovereign, and one Legiſlature: and every branch of the empire, every part of the body-politic, be it ever ſo remote from the ſeat of Government, will participate in the univerſal proſperity, under the beneficial influence of the ſame equitable and liberal ſyſtem of polity, and in the enjoyment of the ſame civil rights and commercial advantages, in proportion to the value of its natural products, and the vigor and perſeverance of its own laudable and voluntary exertions."

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Notwithſtanding the good ſenſe and political rectitude of theſe reaſonings, ſuch was the violence with which the Treaty of Union was oppoſed in the Scottiſh Parliament, and ſuch the commotions which it excited in the kingdom, that the Duke of Queenſberry, at this time High Commiſſioner, abſolutely deſpaired of ſucceſs, and was deſirous of adjourning the Parliament, till, by time and management, he ſhould be able to obviate thoſe formidable difficulties. But the Lord Treaſurer Godolphin, who ſaw that the meaſure would be loſt by delay, urged him to perſiſt in his exertions, which were at length crowned with ſucceſs. The rage of oppoſition *ſuddenly* ſubſided; and the Treaty, as originally framed, received, without any material alteration, the ſolemn ſanction of the Scottiſh Parliament. And the Act of Union being now completed on the part of Scotland, paſſed through both Houſes in the Engliſh Parliament, by a very ſingular effort of political dexterity, almoſt without oppoſition, or even debate or diſcuſſion. For it was ſo contrived that the articles of the Treaty, as approved and ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, ſhould be recited in the preamble of the Act, and that the whole ſhould be converted into a law by a ſingle enacting clauſe. This was a mode of conducting the buſineſs which the Tories were by no means prepared to encounter, as it totally precluded them from taking the articles

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ſeparately into conſideration; and they could not, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, oppoſe the general enacting clauſe. The Bill, therefore, paſſed through both Houſes with uncommon rapidity, and by great majorities. And nothing can more ſtrikingly demonſtrate the eagerneſs and ardor with which this meaſure was proſecuted by the Whigs, than their adopting this unprecedented, and, in other circumſtances, unjuſtifiable mode of enſuring the ſucceſs of it.

Encouraged by the daring ſpirit of faction which at this period prevailed in Scotland, the French Court equipped a powerful armament at Dunkirk, with the view of making a deſcent in that kingdom; on board of which embarked the Chevalier de St. George, ſon of the late King James. Immediately on ſailing from Dunkirk, they were cloſely purſued by an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by Sir George Byng, who captured one of their flag ſhips; and the whole armament was ſo ſcattered and diſperſed in their retreat from the action, that they could not even effect a landing, which might, at the preſent criſis, have been attended with very ſerious conſequences. And after being toſſed for more than a month in a ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſea, they at laſt found their way back, in a ſhattered and diſtreſſed condition, to the port of Dunkirk. On this occaſion, the moſt firm and vigorous meaſures were taken by the Govern-

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Government; ſuch, however, as ſufficiently demonſtrated the ſenſe it entertained of the magnitude of the danger. The Habeas Corpus Act was ſuſpended—The Abjuration-Oath was tendered to all perſons; and thoſe who refuſed it were declared to be in the condition of convict recuſants.—A vote of credit paſſed the Houſe of Commons, and twelve battalions of troops were ordered immediately from Flanders. The Queen herſelf, in a ſpeech to both Houſes, informed them of this alarming attempt to invade the kingdom, and to ſubvert the government; and declared for the *firſt* and the *laſt* time, as many failed not to remark, "That her firmeſt reliance was placed on thoſe who were chiefly concerned in effecting the glorious Revolution." In this popular ſpeech, the Chevalier de St. George was, by a new deſignation, ſtyled *The Pretender*; which term was re-echoed in the numerous addreſſes preſented to the Queen from every part of the kingdom; and by this appellation he was in future uſually diſtinguiſhed. Soon after the termination of this buſineſs, the Parliament, which had now ſat three years with the higheſt reputation to itſelf, and advantage to the public, was diſſolved, and a new Parliament ſummoned to meet in November 1708; in which the Whig intereſt ſtill maintained its aſcendency. A few weeks previous to its aſſembling, died his Royal Highneſs Prince George of Denmark,

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Denmark, who had been twenty-five years married to the Queen. His total want of talents, his unaſpiring diſpoſition, and mildneſs of temper, very happily combined to qualify him for the peculiarly critical ſtation in which his high fortune had placed him, and in which a man of more ſhining abilities, and more daring ambition, might have proved ſingularly troubleſome and dangerous.

The military tranſactions of the preſent reign are of ſuch importance, and form ſo intereſting a part of its general hiſtory, that a regular recital, however conciſe, of the principal events of the war cannot be with propriety diſpenſed with. After the ſucceſsful campaign of 1706, the moſt ſanguine expectations were entertained, that France, whoſe pride was now humbled in the duſt, would no longer be able to make any effectual reſiſtance; and that the allies, as victors, might in a ſhort time dictate the terms of peace with the point of the ſword. The operations of the enſuing ſummer did not, however, in any degree tend to confirm theſe lofty ideas. The Duc de Vendôme, who had been recalled from Italy in order to take the command of the army in Flanders, choſe his poſts with ſo much ſkill and judgment, that the Duke of Marlborough could not, without manifeſt raſhneſs, venture upon an attack. This was the only campaign during the war, in which that great Commander did not obtain ſome ſignal advan-

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advantage over the enemy: and the French General, whoſe policy it was to act upon the defenſive, fully ſuſtained his high reputation, by thus putting, after his Grace's long career of victories, a ſudden and total ſtop to the progreſs of his arms. If in Flanders the wiſhes and expectations of the Confederates were not ſatisfactorily anſwered, in Spain they ſuffered a fatal reverſe: for, a general engagement taking place at Almanza, the Spaniſh army, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, gained a moſt complete victory. The loſs ſuſtained by the Allies was eſtimated at no leſs than 10,000 men; and they were conſtrained, in conſequence of this diſaſter, to abandon the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, and to retire once more to the remote province of Catalonia, which ſtill continued faithful in its attachment to the Houſe of Auſtria. The projects of the Allies in Italy alſo proved unhappily abortive. In the month of July, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy paſſed the Var, at the head of 30,000 men, and marched directly towards Toulon, to which they laid cloſe ſiege. As the principal naval magazines of France, and the greater part of the fleet, were incloſed within its walls, or its harbor, this enterpriſe excited a general conſternation. The place was however defended with the moſt heroic valor; and troops being aſſembled from all parts, in great force, for its relief, the Duke

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Duke of Savoy, who feared leſt his retreat to Italy ſhould be intercepted, thought proper to raiſe the ſiege with precipitation, and to repaſs the Var, without any acquiſition of honor or profit from this undertaking, into his own dominions. Great blame was upon this occaſion imputed to the Emperor, who detached a large body of troops, deſtined for this expedition, to the kingdom of Naples, of which he effected a complete conqueſt: and this was the only advantage gained by the Allies during this unfortunate campaign; which, however, did not prevent the Houſe of Peers from paſſing a reſolution, much applauded by the zealous Whigs, "That no peace could be ſafe and honorable for her Majeſty and her Allies, if Spain and the Indies were ſuffered to continue in the poſſeſſion of the Houſe of Bourbon."

The King of France, emboldened by the ſucceſs of the laſt campaign, and confiding in the talents of his General, was this year inclined to act more upon the offenſive; and early in the ſpring 1708, the Duc de Vendôme ſurpriſed the cities of Ghent and Bruges, and laid ſiege to the town of Oudenard. The Duke of Marlborough, however, being now joined by Prince Eugene, compelled the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Oudenard; and following them in their retreat, forced them to a general engagement in the vicinity of that place.

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Though the Duc de Vendôme, whoſe meaſures were, during the whole of this campaign, much embarraſſed by the preſence of the Duke of Burgundy, acted the part of a great general upon this occaſion, rallying, in perſon, the broken battalions, calling the officers by name, and conjuring them to maintain the honor of their country; the French army was, in the end, entirely defeated. Night however ſaved them from total ruin; and the Duc de Vendôme, ſeeing all hope of retrieval loſt, formed his beſt troops into a rear-guard, with which he ſecured a tolerable retreat. In conſequence of this important victory, the Generals of the Allies determined to undertake the ſiege of Liſle, the capital of French Flanders—a town, on the fortifications of which Vauban had exhauſted his utmoſt ſkill, and which was defended by a garriſon ſo numerous that the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe was adjudged extremely doubtful. After happily ſurmounting the numerous obſtacles which the ability and vigilance of the Duc de Vendôme, ſtill more than the unrivalled art of the engineer, continually created; and in ſome of which the ſuperior fortune, rather than ſkill, of the Duke of Marlborough, was apparent; this important town, together with its citadel, ſurrendered to the allied army, to the inexpreſſible chagrin of the French Court, who ſaw the frontier of France, by this conqueſt, expoſed to the moſt dangerous future attacks.

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attacks. Ghent and Bruges were alſo recovered before the end of this campaign, which terminated only with the year.

In Spain and Italy the war ſeemed for the preſent to ſlumber. But, during the courſe of the ſummer, Sir John Leake made a complete conqueſt of the Iſland of Sardinia; and, in concert with General Stanhope, alſo of Minorca. And the POPE was menaced by the Britiſh Admiral with the bombardment of Civita-Vecchia, in return for the aſſiſtance he had publicly afforded the Pretender in his late expedition into Scotland. From this affront, however, the Holy Pontiff was ſaved by the ſeaſonable interpoſition of the Imperial Court in his favor.

The campaign in Flanders was opened in June 1709, by the ſiege of Tournay, which ſurrendered at diſcretion, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance. The Allies next prepared to attack the city of Mons. But the French army, now commanded by Marechal Villars, poſting themſelves behind the woods of La-Merte and Taniers, in the neighborhood of Malplaquet, in order to obſtruct this deſign, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene formed a reſolution to attack the French General in his camp, which, naturally ſtrong, he had fortified with redoubts behind redoubts, and intrenchments behind intrenchments, with ſuch diligence and ſkill as to make it apparently inac-

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ceſſible. After an obſtinate, fierce, and bloody engagement, however, the lines were forced, but not till Marechal Villars had been wounded and carried off the field. And it was not without ſome appearance of reaſon the Marechal was accuſtomed to boaſt, that had it not been for this accident, the Allies would certainly have been defeated. Marechal Boufflers, ſecond in command, made an excellent retreat; and the loſs of the victors was little leſs than that of the vanquiſhed. The victory, however, was crowned by the capture of Mons; after which, both armies went into winter quarters. In Spain, Count Staremberg, the Auſtrian General, maintained his ground with reputation to the Imperial arms. The Duke of Savoy, ſince the failure of his great enterpriſe, contented himſelf with operations merely defenſive, wiſely ſhunning thoſe riſques which might have reduced him once more to that extremity of diſtreſs from which he had ſo lately been almoſt miraculouſly reſcued.

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough again took the field together in Flanders, April 1710; and the ſucceſs of the campaign was equal to the expectations excited by the junction of ſuch extraordinary talents. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of Marechal Villars, who directed the operations of the French army with great ability, the Allies ſucceſſively reduced the towns of Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, paſſing

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In the profecution of theſe ſieges one hundred and fifty days in open trenches. The moſt intereſting events of the preſent ſummer paſſed however in Spain. The reigning Monarch, eager to put a final termination to the hopes and claims of his competitor, advanced at the head of a powerful army into Arragon, in order to bring matters to a deciſive iſſue. General Stanhope notwithſtanding, with a force very inferior, attacked and totally routed the Spaniſh cavalry at Almanara. And Count Staremberg following the motions of the King, who found it neceſſary, in conſequence of this check, to retire towards Saragoſſa, diſcovered the Spaniſh army drawn up in order of battle, near that place; and an engagement enſuing, the enemy were entirely defeated. King Charles entered Saragoſſa in triumph, while Philip retired with the wreck of his army to Madrid. The good fortune of Charles, however, was of ſhort duration; proceeding, without delay, to Madrid, in purſuit of his competitor, he had the mortification to find that city entirely deſerted by all the Spaniſh grandees, and to receive the moſt convincing proofs of the fidelity and attachment of the Caſtilians to his rival. Great efforts being made by Philip to collect another army, he ſoon appeared again in force; and Count Staremberg, being wholly unſupported, and apprehending his retreat to Catalonia might be intercepted, thought

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it expedient to retrace his footſteps; and in the beginning of November, his army marched back to Saragoſſa: but the greater part of the Britiſh forces, under General Stanhope, imprudently halting at Brihuega, were ſuddenly ſurpriſed and ſurrounded by the Spaniſh army, and reduced to the fatal neceſſity of ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war. And in a few days afterwards, Staremberg himſelf was attacked at Villa Vicioſa with great valor, but doubtful ſucceſs: He was, however, compelled, victor as he ſtyled himſelf, to abandon Arragon, and retire to Catalonia; and being cloſely purſued by the Duc de Vendôme, now at the head of the Spaniſh forces, he was at laſt driven to take ſhelter under the walls of Barcelona. Thus the flattering ſucceſſes of the Allies at the commencement of this campaign, proved wholly deluſive; and, during the remaining years of the war, Charles was never able to regain even a temporary ſuperiority.

In the month of May in the ſucceeding year, 1711, the Duke of Marlborough appeared, for the laſt time, at the head of the grand army in Flanders—Prince Eugene commanding a ſeparate body of forces on the Rhine. This campaign was not diſtinguiſhed, on the part of his Grace, by brilliant ſucceſs; but it attracted uncommon attention, as exhibiting the moſt conſummate proofs of military ſkill and conduct. Marechal Villars had,

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had, with great labor and perſeverance, drawn lines from Bouchaine on the Scheldt along the Sanſet and Scarpe, to Arras and Canché, which he had fortified by redoubts, batteries, and other military works, in ſuch a manner that he ſcrupled not publicly to boaſt that they were impregnable, and that the Engliſh General had at length arrived at his *ne plus ultra*. The Duke, however, boldly advanced within two leagues of the French lines, making every preparation in order to a vigorous attack the next morning; and Villars drew, with all poſſible diligence, his whole force on that ſide, in full expectation of an immediate and furious engagement. This being foreſeen by the Duke, he had given previous orders to Generals Cadogan and Hompeſch, with a ſtrong detachment, ſecretly drawn from the neighboring garriſons, to take poſſeſſion of the paſſes on the river Sanſet, at Arleux. At nine in the evening the Duke ſilently decamped, and by eight the next morning he arrived at Arleux with his whole army, after a march of ten leagues, without halting. Villars, on being certified of the Duke's motions, within a few hours of his departure, marched all night with ſuch expedition, that, at eleven the next morning, he was in ſight of the Duke of Marlborough, who, to his unſpeakable mortification, had, as he now found, entered thoſe lines which he had himſelf vauntingly pronounced

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impregnable, without the loſs of a man. His Grace immediately inveſted the important fortreſs of Bouchaine, which ſurrendered after twenty days open trenches only. And this admired and hazardous military achievement cloſed the long glories of this celebrated Commander; who, at the critical moment in which he had almoſt penetrated the French barrier, and when another Ramilies might have removed all obſtacles in his march to Paris, was, by the mandate of that Sovereign whom he had ſerved with ſuch unparalleled ability and ſucceſs, diveſted of all his civil and military employments. The gradation of cauſes which led to this event, at which all Europe ſtood in aſtoniſhment, it will now be neceſſary conciſely to develope.

Of the favorable opinion univerſally entertained by the Engliſh nation, reſpecting the general purity and rectitude of the Queen's intentions, the epithet of the *good* Queen Anne, ſo commonly applied to this Princeſs, is itſelf a ſufficient proof. This good Queen, however, had imbibed, in a very great degree, the hereditary prejudices of her family reſpecting the nature and extent of the ſovereign authority. And there is reaſon to believe that the ſucceſsful reſiſtance of the nation to the late King James, was, in her eyes, juſtified only by the attempts made to eſtabliſh Popery upon the ruins of the Proteſtant religion;

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to which, in the form exhibiting itſelf to her perception, as inculcated and profeſſed by the Church of England, ſhe entertained a zealous attachment, or rather a blind and bigoted devotion. As her prejudices, political and religious, preciſely coincided with thoſe of the Tories, ſhe cheriſhed a ſtrong predilection for that powerful and dangerous faction, in oppoſition to the Whigs, who were conſidered as for the moſt part latitudinarians in religion, or at beſt as cool and luke-warm friends of the church; and who certainly regarded the particular mode in which the Proteſtant religion was profeſſed, as of little importance, when put in competition with the preſervation, enlargement, or ſecurity of the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom. The political views of the Sectaries, who were very numerous and active, entirely correſponded with thoſe of the Whig party; and their whole weight was invariably thrown into this ſcale. In return, the Whigs were the ſtrenuous and conſtant advocates of the Diſſenters, whenever they were threatened with any ſpecies of perſecution or oppreſſion. It has been already remarked, that the paſſions of all the zealous adherents of liberty were, at the period of the Queen's acceſſion, extremely inflamed againſt the French Monarch—that imperious and reſtleſs deſpot—on account of the open and avowed protection which he granted to the ſon of the late

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King James. When England, therefore, acceded to the Grand Alliance, the Whigs rejoiced in the proſpect of humbling the pride, and reducing the power, of that haughty tyrant. Previous to the death of King William, the idea of a war with France had become exceedingly popular; and after the acceſſion of the Queen, the leaders of the Tories, Rocheſter, Nottingham, &c. who oppoſed a declaration of war on the part of England as unneceſſary and impolitic, were over-ruled in the Council, chiefly through the all-powerful influence of the Earl of Marlborough, who, though himſelf attached to the Tories, was impatient to give full ſcope to his talents; and in whoſe breaſt an ardent thirſt for glory, that "infirmity of noble minds," ſuperſeded every other conſideration. This influence was obtained chiefly through the medium of the Counteſs of Marlborough, who had been long employed in ſtations near the Queen's perſon, and who had gradually acquired a complete aſcendency over her. In proceſs of time, Marlborough, and Godolphin his friend and co-adjutor, finding that the war received a faint and feeble ſupport only from the Tories, began to connect themſelves with the Whigs, who were zealous and ſanguine in the proſecution of it. And the Queen, under the direction and government of theſe two noblemen, ſuffered the Tories to be gradually diſplaced, an adminiſtration compoſed entirely

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tirely of Whigs to be formed, and two ſucceſſive Parliaments to be choſen under the influence of the Court, in which that party maintained a decided ſuperiority. While affairs continued in this ſtate, a trivial and fortuitous incident eventually occaſioned a total change in the face of Europe. The Ducheſs of Marlborough had introduced a female relation and dependant at the Court, who ſo artfully and rapidly inſinuated herſelf into the Queen's affection and favor, that the Ducheſs found herſelf abſolutely ſupplanted, almoſt before ſhe was appriſed of the danger. The new favorite, Mrs. Maſham, ſoon diſcovering the Queen's ſecret predilection for the Tories, combined with Mr. Harley, at this time Secretary of State, but who aſpired to nothing leſs than the ſtation of Prime Miniſter, to prepoſſeſs the mind of the Queen againſt the Duke of Marlborough, and the Earl of Godolphin; who, as they ſaid, and truly ſaid, made her Majeſty a mere cypher in the Government, and engroſſed all power, influence, and patronage, into their own hands—omitting, however, to inform the Queen of another truth, not leſs palpable; *viz.* that ſuch was the imbecility of her Majeſty's underſtanding and capacity, that ſhe muſt neceſſarily remain a cypher, in whatever hands her affairs were placed. And the voice, not of England only, but of Europe, declared, that the public intereſts could not be entruſted to more faithful

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faithful or more able directors than the preſent miniſters. The intrigues of Harley with the Tories ſoon tranſpiring, he was compelled immediately to relinquiſh his employments, though with manifeſt tokens of reſentment and alienation from the Whigs, on the part of the Queen. The entire management of affairs nevertheleſs ſtill remained with that party; and ſo little force and vigor of mind did the Queen poſſeſs, that if ſubſequent circumſtances had not in a remarkable and unexpected manner favored a revolution in politics, it is very doubtful whether it would ever have been effected. Notwithſtanding the wonderful ſucceſſes of the preſent war, the heavy burdens which in conſequence of its long continuance it became neceſſary to impoſe, conſiderably damped the ardor of the public, and by degrees had much abated its original popularity. And the overtures for a general accommodation made by Louis from time to time, and the great conceſſions offered by that Monarch, led the generality of intelligent and diſpaſſionate people to conſider the grand object of the war as now ſufficiently attained. At the conferences held firſt at the Hague, and in the following year at Gertruytenberg, A. D. 1710, ſo low were the mighty fallen, that the King of France, through the medium of the Marquis de Torcy, his Prime Miniſter, who upon this occaſion took upon him the office of negotiator in perſon, conde-

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condeſcended to acknowledge the Arch-duke Charles as true and rightful Sovereign of the Spaniſh monarchy; and made in all other reſpects ſuch ample conceſſions as the dire neceſſity of his affairs demanded; ſuch indeed as amply ſecured the intereſts, and ought to have ſatisfied the utmoſt ambition, of the Allies. With all the inſolence of proſperity, however, they inſiſted that Louis ſhould abſolutely engage for the entire reſtitution of the Spaniſh monarchy to the Houſe of Auſtria, in the ſpace of two months. It was in vain that he urged "this was a promiſe not in his power to perform; and that he could not at his pleaſure depoſe a King of Spain, or impoſe a Monarch upon the Spaniſh nation contrary to their own inclination." The plea was treated as idle and frivolous. And even the offer which he ultimately made, to ſurrender three fortreſſes in Flanders into the hands of the Allies as pledges for the reſtitution of Spain, and to furniſh his quota in money or troops for the reduction of that kingdom, ſhould Spain refuſe to accede to the treaty, was rejected with diſdain; to the extreme diſſatisfaction of all moderate and reaſonable perſons, who ſaw that the war was in future to be continued, merely to gratify the immeaſurable ambition of the Houſe of Auſtria, and that, excluſive of the flagrant injuſtice of forcing a Sovereign on the Spaniards, who was the object of the national abhorrence,

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abhorrence, the policy of the meaſure was in preſent circumſtances extremely doubtful. For the power of France being ſo greatly reduced, while the grandeur of the Imperial Family was elevated in the ſame proportion, not leſs danger was to be apprehended by transferring Spain and the Indies to the Houſe of Auſtria, than by leaving them in the poſſeſſion of a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon. The Parliament, notwithſtanding, highly approved the conduct of the Britiſh plenipotentiaries, and returned the Duke of Marlborough their unanimous thanks for his public ſervices, when it became every day more apparent, that he was actuated chiefly by private conſiderations, and that he invariably oppoſed all overtures of conciliation, prompted by the ſuggeſtions of ambition and of intereſt. In order however effectually to check and intimidate that riſing ſpirit of diſcontent, evident ſymptoms of which began now to appear in the nation, and to diſplay the firmneſs of their attachment to thoſe principles in which this once popular war had originated, the Parliament determined to give full ſcope to their vengeance, on an occaſion which certainly called for no ſuch extraordinary violence of exertion.

On the 5th November 1709, an obſcure clergyman of the name of Sacheverel, of the High-Church faction, preaching at St. Paul's cathedral upon the words of St. Paul, " Perils from falſe brethren,"

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brethren," indulged himſelf in the moſt virulent defamation and abuſe of the preſent Adminiſtration, and of their meaſures. The Lord Treaſurer in particular was ſcurrilouſly attacked, under the name of VOLPONE; and divers of the Right Reverend Bench were alſo inveighed againſt with much ſcorn and malignity, as "perfidious prelates and falſe ſons of the Church," on account of their moderation reſpecting the Diſſenters, and their avowed approbation of the Toleration. He aſſerted, in terms the moſt unqualified, the doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance; and pretended, that to ſay the Revolution was inconſiſtent with thoſe doctrines, was to caſt black and odious imputations upon it. He affirmed, that the Church was violently aſſailed by her enemies, and faintly defended by thoſe who profeſſed themſelves her friends. He vehemently urged the neceſſity of ſtanding up in defence of the Church; for which he declared that he ſounded the trumpet, and exhorted the people "*to put on the whole armour of GOD.*" This inflammatory and libellous harangue being publiſhed at the requeſt of the Lord Mayor, was extravagantly extolled and applauded by the Tories, and circulated by them with great induſtry throughout the kingdom. At the very height of the popular ferment and clamor excited by this extraordinary invective, and which would doubtleſs have ſoon died away, had no

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no public notice been taken of it, a complaint was formally preferred to the Houſe of Commons, by one of the Members of that Houſe, of this ſermon, as containing poſitions contrary to Revolution principles, to the preſent Government, and to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. As it was by this means obtruded upon the notice of the Houſe, it was impoſſible not to expreſs in ſome mode their diſapprobation of theſe neſarious and ſeditious tenets. The wiſer Members thought it ſufficient to order the ſermon to be burnt by the common hangman, and to commit the writer to Newgate during the remainder of the Seſſion. This, however, was by no means ſatisfactory to the majority, who determined to raiſe this contemptible libeller to the rank of a political delinquent of great conſequence and dignity, by a ſolemn parliamentary impeachment at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords. No ſooner was this abſurd and unaccountable reſolution made public, than every poſſible artifice was put in practice, by the Tory faction, to inflame the minds of the public; and to repreſent Sacheverel as the champion and martyr of the Church, which the Whigs had, as they affirmed, a fixed intent to ſubvert; and of which project the impeachment of Sacheverel was only the prelude. Theſe calumnies, however groſs and palpable, were ſwallowed by the populace with amazing avidity. During the trial, which laſted three weeks,

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weeks, his coach, in paſſing between Weſtminſter Hall and the Temple, where he then lodged, was conſtantly attended by vaſt multitudes with ſhouts and acclamations of applauſe. And great tumults prevailed in the metropolis, where ſeveral places of worſhip licenſed under the Act of Toleration were pulled down; the houſes of many of the moſt eminent Diſſenters were plundered; and thoſe of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharton, the Biſhop of Sarum, &c. were threatened with demolition. The managers of the Houſe of Commons, amongſt whom were the celebrated names of KING, STANHOPE, and WALPOLE, nevertheleſs exerted themſelves with great courage and ability in ſupport of the proſecution *. And divers of the Lords, Spiritual

* As the ſentiments of the Whig managers of this Impeachment, and of the Revolution Whigs in general, have of late been groſsly and daringly miſrepreſented, it cannot be improper to make a few extracts from the Speeches delivered at this celebrated trial; from which a competent judgment may be formed of the general ſtrain and ſpirit of the proceedings on this occaſion, in behalf of the Commons of Great Britain.

Lord Coningſby.—"The Doctor, by reflecting on the neceſſary means to bring about the Revolution—the foundation on which our preſent happy eſtabliſhment is built—*by aſſerting that her Majeſty ought to depend on no other title to her throne, than her hereditary one*, deſigned by ſuch deſtructive poſitions to bring back the Pretender, with Popery and French tyranny attending him, to govern the State."—As long therefore as a pretender to the throne exiſted, it was true that the political

ritual as well as Temporal, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ſpirit and liberality of their remarks on this intereſting

cal claims and rights of the Kings of England reſted, like thoſe of magiſtrates of every other denomination, upon the general conſent and will of the people, or community at large, as the only proper and rational baſis. But the very ſhadow of competition being at length vaniſhed, they are now adviſed by ſome who preſume to ſtyle themſelves WHIGS, to revert for the future to the old ground of inviolable hereditary right.

Mr. Dolben.—"This Gentleman, Dr. S. muſt be allowed the infamy to have ſtretched and improved this pernicious tenet to the exalted height of making all our laws, liberties, religion, and lives, to be held only at the precarious pleaſure of any bold invader, when it is taught that no oppreſſion, no violence, can juſtify an oppoſition to it. My Lords, the Commons have brought this offender before you, with a view not only to detect and puniſh his offence, but to obtain an occaſion in the moſt public and authentic manner to avow the principles and juſtify the means upon which the preſent Government and the Proteſtant Succeſſion are founded and eſtabliſhed; and this more out of a generous concern for poſterity, than for our own preſent ſecurity. We hope the record of this proceeding will remain a laſting monument to deter a ſucceſſor that may inherit the crown, but not the virtues of her Majeſty, from attempting to invade the laws or the people's rights; and if not, that it will be a noble precedent to excite our poſterity to *wreſtle and tug* for liberty as we have done."—Could it poſſibly have entered into the imagination of this patriotic ſpeaker, to accuſe any one of ſedition for teaching that the people *have* a right, while in the ſame breath he accuſed Dr. S. of a high offence for teaching that the people have *not* a right, to depoſe their governors for miſconduct?—And will it be pretended by thoſe who have the

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intereſting occaſion. The Earl of Wharton, knowing at the time the Queen to be in the Houſe *incognita*, took the opportunity to obſerve, that if the Revolution was not lawful, many in that Houſe, and vaſt numbers out of it, were guilty of bloodſhed and treaſon; and that the Queen herſelf was no legal Sovereign, ſince the beſt title ſhe had to the Crown was her parliamentary title, founded on the Revolution. Dr. Wake, Biſhop of Lincoln, remarked, that by falſe and injurious repreſentations men had been made to believe the Church to be in danger, when in reality it enjoyed

audacity to bring forward ſuch prepoſterous charges, that they agree in *all* points of political theory and practice with the Whigs of the Revolution!

"If," ſays Sir Joſeph Jekyl, "this doctrine of unlimited non-reſiſtance prevail, we muſt give up our right to the laws and liberties of the Kingdom, and hold them only during pleaſure.—Hath not this principle of unlimited non-reſiſtance been revived by the profeſſed and undiſguiſed friends of the Pretender? The law is the only meaſure of the Prince's authority and the People's ſubjection, and it derives its being and efficacy from COMMON CONSENT; though patriarchal or other fantaſtical ſchemes have been framed to reſt the authority of the law upon." —It is plain therefore, that as the general theory of this juſtly applauded manager perfectly accords with that which it is now the faſhion to explode, the theories which eſſentially vary from it, on whatever grounds the ingenuity of their inventors may place them, muſt be ranked amongſt the number of thoſe *fantaſtical ſchemes*, which Sir Joſeph Jekyl rejects with indignation and contempt.

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the moſt perfect ſecurity; but that ſuch invectives, if not timely corrected, might kindle ſuch heat and animoſities as would truly endanger both Church and State. And Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum, juſtified the principle of reſiſtance without reſerve. He mentioned the conduct of Queen Elizabeth, who had aſſiſted the French, the Scots, and the Hollanders, in reſiſting their reſpective Sovereigns, and who was ſupported in this practice both by her Parliaments and her Convocations. He obſerved, that King Charles I. had aſſiſted the city of Rochelle; and that Mainwaring had incurred the ſevereſt cenſure of Parliament, for broaching the doctrine of the divine right of Kings:—that though this became afterwards a faſhionable doctrine, yet its moſt zealous aſſertors were the firſt to reſiſt, when actually ſuffering under oppreſſion. He ſaid, that by inveighing againſt the Revolution, the Toleration, and the Union, the delinquent at their Lordſhips' Bar had arraigned and attacked the Queen herſelf; ſince her Majeſty had a diſtinguiſhed ſhare in the firſt, had often declared ſhe would maintain the ſecond, and that ſhe looked upon the third as the moſt glorious event of her reign. He affirmed, that this audacious libeller had likewiſe caſt the moſt ſcandalous reflections upon her Majeſty's miniſters; and that he had, in particular, drawn the portrait of a noble Peer then preſent, in colors ſo lively, and had ſo plainly

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plainly pointed him out by a vile and ſcurrilous epithet, which he would not repeat, that it was impoſſible to miſtake in making the application. This unintentional ſarcaſm on the Lord Treaſurer ſomewhat diſcompoſed the gravity of the Houſe; and in violation of dignity and decorum, the Biſhop was loudly called upon to name him; which, in the fervor of his zeal, and in the wanderings of that mental abſence for which he was remarkable, he might perhaps have done, had not the Lord Chancellor interpoſed, and declared that no Peer was obliged to ſay more than he himſelf ſhould deem proper. In concluſion, Sacheverel was, after high debates, found guilty of a miſdemeanor, by a majority of ſeventeen voices only *; and he was adjudged to be ſuſpended from preaching for the ſpace of three years, and his ſermon ordered to be publicly burnt. And to the ſame flames was alſo ſomewhat whimſically, though very deſervedly, committed the famous decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, paſſed near thirty years before, aſſerting the abſolute authority and indefeaſible right of Princes. This mild ſentence, which caſt an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings, was conſidered as equivalent to an acquittal by the Tory faction, who celebrated their triumph by bonfires and illuminations, not only in London, but over the whole kingdom.

* 52 to 69.

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Theſe rejoicings were ſucceeded by numerous addreſſes expreſſive of a zealous attachment to the Church, and an utter deteſtation of all anti-monarchical and republican principles. And in a progreſs which Sacheverel afterwards made into a remote part of the country, he was ſumptuouſly entertained by the Univerſity of Oxford, invited to the palaces of different noblemen, received in many towns by the magiſtrates in their formalities, and generally attended by a numerous eſcort of horſe. In other places the hedges were ornamented with garlands of flowers, the ſteeples were covered with ſtreamers and flags, and the air every-where reſounded with the cry of "The Church and Sacheverel!" The enthuſiaſm ſpread like a contagion through all ranks and orders of people. Men ſeemed to ſuffer a temporary dereliction of ſenſe and underſtanding, and the mob and the nation were for a time terms of the ſame import. No martyr ſuffering in the glorious cauſe of civil and religious liberty was ever perhaps ſo much the object of public applauſe and veneration, as this wretched and fanatical preacher of nonſenſe, impiety, and ſedition.

Encouraged by the diſpoſition now univerſally prevalent, the Queen gave the firſt public indication of her total change of ſyſtem, by diſmiſſing the Marquis of Kent, April 1710, and giving the office

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office of Chamberlain to the Duke of Shrewſbury. In June, the Seals were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, and given to the Earl of Dartmouth; and in Auguſt, the Lord High Treaſurer Godolphin was ordered to break his ſtaff; and the Treaſury was put into commiſſion, Earl Paulet being appointed Firſt Commiſſioner. But this appointment was conſidered as merely nominal; Mr. Harley, who was conſtituted Chancellor of the Exchequer, being regarded as chief, or rather ſole miniſter. In October, the Queen came in perſon to the Council, and ordered a proclamation to be iſſued for diſſolving the Parliament: upon which the Lord Chancellor roſe to ſpeak; but the Queen declared that ſhe would admit of no debate, for that SUCH WAS HER PLEASURE. At the ſame time ſhe diſmiſſed the Lord Somers, and made the Earl of Rocheſter Lord Preſident of the Council. The Duke of Buckingham was declared Lord Steward, in the room of the Duke of Devonſhire. The Seals in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Boyle were given to Mr. St. John. The Lord High Chancellor Cowper was ſucceeded by Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton reſigned the government of Ireland; and the Earl of Orford, his ſeat at the head of the Admiralty. The Duke of Marlborough alone was ſtill ſuffered to retain his employments, which he was deterred from reſigning by the preſſing entreaties of the Emperor and the States-

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General, who conceived the fortune of the war to be in a great meaſure attached to his perſon. On his return from the enſuing campaign, he was however, as mention has already been made, diveſted of his command, which was immediately conferred upon the Duke of Ormond.

The Parliament, which met in November, was compoſed almoſt wholly of Tories, who eagerly ſought occaſions to diſplay their hatred to the principles and perſons of their predeceſſors. An inquiry was ſet on foot in the Houſe of Peers into the conduct of the war in Spain: and the Earl of Galway and General Stanhope, being Whigs, were cenſured for reſolving to adopt offenſive meaſures, at the opening of the campaign in 1707, contrary to the advice of the Earl of Peterborough; which reſolution was with ſingular ſagacity voted to be the cauſe of the loſs of the battle of Almanza, with all its fatal conſequences: and the Earl of Peterborough, a zealous Tory, was thanked for his great and eminent ſervices. Though the Earl of Godolphin had been one of the moſt incorrupt of miniſters, a vote of cenſure alſo paſſed upon him, on pretence that his accounts were not regularly audited. For the ſake of offering an indignity to the memory of King William, the Houſe of Commons ordered in a Bill, empowering commiſſioners to examine all grants made by that Monarch, and to report the value

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value of them, and the conſiderations upon which they were beſtowed. This, however, was rejected by the Lords. Great pains were taken to fix a ſtigma upon the character of the Duke of Marlborough; and the cuſtomary perquiſites which he received in the capacity of Commander in Chief were voted to be unwarrantable and illegal; and it was reſolved by the Houſe, that the ſums ſo received ought to be accounted for as public property: and the Queen ordered the Attorney General to commence a proſecution againſt the Duke for money actually received by virtue of her own warrant.

Early in the year 1711, Harley was raiſed to the dignity of Lord High Treaſurer, and created Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. About this period died Joſeph, Emperor of the Romans. His brother, the Arch-duke Charles, nominal King of Spain, was elected Emperor without oppoſition. This event afforded a fair opening to renew the overtures for a general peace, which was now not leſs the object of the eager wiſhes of the Court of London than that of Verſailles. After a ſecret, or, as it was ſtyled by the Whigs, a clandeſtine negotiation with the agents of the French Court, protracted for many months, it was at laſt agreed, that Utrecht ſhould be the place of congreſs, and that the conferences ſhould be opened the firſt of January 1712. The new Emperor,

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who was previouſly informed that Spain and the Indies were, by the conſent of England, to remain in the poſſeſſion of Philip, vehemently oppoſed the project of a treaty, by which he conſidered his intereſts as ſacrificed: and the States-General themſelves acceded to it with much reluctance, and after long and repeated delays. The Whigs exclaimed with all the violence of party rage againſt a plan of accommodation founded on this baſis, which they repreſented as fraught with treachery to our allies, and ruin to ourſelves. The ideas inculcated by the leaders, and ſwallowed by the dupes of the faction, are ſtrongly, though undeſignedly, depictured by Biſhop Burnet; who gravely informs us, that when the Queen condeſcended to aſk of him his ſentiments reſpecting peace, upon obtaining permiſſion to ſpeak his mind plainly, he told her Majeſty, "That it was his opinion, that any treaty by which Spain and the Indies were left to King Philip, muſt in a little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of France. And if any ſuch peace ſhould be made, ſhe was betrayed, and we were all ruined. In leſs than three years time, ſhe would be murdered, and the fires would be again kindled in Smithfield."

The Parliament being now convened, the Earl of Nottingham, after copiouſly expatiating on the dangers to be apprehended from leaving a Prince of the Houſe of Bourbon in poſſeſſion of the monarchy of

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of Spain, moved, that a clauſe might be added to the addreſs in anſwer to the ſpeech from the throne, repreſenting to her Majeſty, "that in the opinion of that Houſe, no peace could be ſafe or honorable to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the Indies were allotted to any branch of the Houſe of Bourbon." The previous queſtion being put upon this motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a ſingle vote; and the main queſtion by three voices, againſt the utmoſt efforts of the Court. The Earl of Nottingham was, himſelf, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders of the Tory party; but he was, at this period, extremely diſcontented at the aſcendency acquired by the Earl of Oxford, under whom he would not deign to act a ſubordinate part. The reward for the ſervice thus rendered to the Whigs was their ſupport, or rather acquieſcence, in a Bill which the ſame nobleman now moved for leave to bring in againſt occaſional conformity; without which, as he ſaid, he was only an individual; but with it, an hoſt. As there was little doubt, from the preſent temper of the times, that this famous Bill, ſo often and ſo ſtrongly agitated, would be revived, the Whigs made no ſcruple to permit the Earl of Nottingham to conciliate the confidence of his party, by being himſelf the mover of it, eſpecially as the penalties of the propoſed Bill were much milder than they would probably have been

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if introduced under the auſpices of the Court. In conſequence of this previous agreement, the Bill paſſed through both Houſes with ſilence and rapidity. The Diſſenters, however, who did not perfectly comprehend theſe political and courtly manœuvres, loudly complained that they were deſerted by their friends, who endeavored in vain to perſuade them that they conſulted their intereſt in conſenting to their oppreſſion.

At this period Prince Eugene arrived in England, being charged with inſtructions from the Emperor, to repreſent to the Queen, in terms the moſt urgent, the fatal conſequences which would attend the defection of England from the alliance, and to propoſe a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which his Imperial Majeſty would take upon himſelf a larger proportion of the burden than had been required from his predeceſſors Leopold and Joſeph. The remonſtrances of his Highneſs, however, produced no effect; and during his reſidence in London he had even the mortification to ſee twelve Peers created in one day, in order to ſecure a majority in favor of the Court in the Houſe of Lords. When the time arrived for opening the campaign, Prince Eugene nevertheleſs received poſitive aſſurances from the new General, that he would concur with him in a vigorous proſecution of the war; and when the Prince inveſted Queſnoy, the Duke of Ormond

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Ormond undertook to cover the ſiege: but when the place was on the point of a ſurrender, his Highneſs was informed by the Britiſh Commander, that an armiſtice was agreed upon between the two Crowns of England and France; and that he was obliged, by his inſtructions, immediately to begin his march towards Dunkirk, in order to embark his forces for England. The Prince in vain expoſtulated with the Duke on the unparalleled baſeneſs of this violation of national faith and honor, and the danger and ruin which might enſue upon this deſertion. The Duke was immoveable, and ordered the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpet: but the foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain unanimouſly refuſed to obey his Grace's orders. Notwithſtanding the departure of Ormond, Prince Eugene immediately on the ſurrender of Queſnoy inveſted Landreci; but the hiſtory of this campaign, after the ſeparation of the Britiſh forces, is the recital of a continued ſeries of loſſes and diſaſters. Marechal Villars, after defeating a part of the allied army at Denain, proceeded to Marchiennes, which contained the Prince's grand *depôt* of military ſtores. After the reduction of Marchiennes, he undertook the ſiege of Douay, which compelled the Prince to raiſe that of Landreci, without however being able to ſave Douay. And before the end of the campaign, the French alſo retook Queſnoy

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noy and Bouchaine. So that the triumph of Villars was complete, and the allies were overwhelmed with ſhame and conſternation. In the beginning of Auguſt, Mr. Secretary St. John, now created Viſcount Bolingbroke, went *incognito* to the Court of Verſailles, in order, by his preſence, to obviate all obſtacles to the treaty between France and England. And a total ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities by ſea and land, for the ſpace of four months, was quickly agreed upon; but the treaty was not ſigned in form till the April ſucceeding. All the powers of the alliance, the Emperor excepted, at length acceded to the terms preſcribed by England, which were much leſs advantageous than thoſe voluntarily offered by France two years before. Louis ſaw the impolitic ardor with which the Britiſh Miniſter purſued and even courted peace, and wiſely improved it to his own benefit. M. Meſnager, the original negotiator of the treaty, informs us, that when ſetting out from Paris, the King of France ſaid to him, "I am of opinion that Harley and his new party may ſtand in as much need of peace as of victory; and that they may want me as much as I want them *." And he adds, that it was

* The innate goodneſs of the Queen's diſpoſition, and her artleſs ſimplicity, are ſtrongly marked by a circumſtance related by M. Meſnager, who tells us, that on being introduced by a certain nobleman privately to the Queen at Kenſington, her Majeſty

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was impoſſible to deſcribe the tranſports of joy the King was in at the news of the diſſolution of the Whig Parliament. A ſeparate peace was at laſt concluded November 1713, at Al-Raſtadt, between the Emperor and France; by which the former acknowledged the title of the King of Spain; and Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Low Countries were ceded to the Houſe of Auſtria.

A new Parliament being convened in December, debates ran, if poſſible, higher than ever between the two State factions. Theſe were occaſioned chiefly by the fears and jealouſies entertained by the Whigs, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger, from the ſecret deſigns of the Miniſters of the Crown in favor of the Pretender; though it muſt be acknowledged, no very clear proof has yet been adduced that any ſuch deſigns were ſeriouſly harbored. "It was eaſy to ſee," ſays M. Meſnager, "that ſeveral who were near

Majeſty ſaid, "My Lord * * * here has given me an account of what ſteps you have taken—You may let him hear what you have to ſay." M. Meſnager bowed, but was prevented replying by the Queen's addreſſing herſelf to the nobleman; after which ſhe again turned to M. Meſnager, and ſaid, "'Tis a good work; I pray God ſucceed you in it: I am ſure I long for peace; I hate this dreadful work of blood:"—and ſhook her head two or three times as ſhe retired, adding ſome words, which M. Meſnager tells us he was extremely ſorry he was not able to overhear. Vide Meſnager's Memoirs.

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the Queen had inclinations favorable to the Court of St. Germains; but they could not make it practicable, as they all ſaid, to take any ſteps in that intereſt, without hazard to *their own:* and I never found they had a true zeal for any thing elſe." OXFORD and BOLINGBROKE, the two principal leaders of adminiſtration, had long been at variance, and the diſſenſion between them now became open and public. Oxford was a man not remarkable for capacity, but long and intimately converſant in buſineſs; cloſe, plauſible, ſubtle, jealous, intriguing, and ambitious. He aimed at engroſſing the entire confidence of the Queen, and the ſole management of affairs: and inſtead of admitting Bolingbroke to the rank of a coadjutor, he viewed him with the meanneſs of fear and ſuſpicion; as a competitor, by whom he dreaded to be eclipſed and perhaps ſupplanted. On the other hand, Bolingbroke finding himſelf regarded in the light of a rival, made no ſcruple to become ſo. This celebrated nobleman, excluſive of the exterior and perſonal advantages by which he was diſtinguiſhed, was poſſeſſed of abilities of the firſt order, of manners the moſt captivating, of eloquence the moſt commanding. In almoſt every thing, the reverſe of the Earl of Oxford; his temper was open and generous; his conduct, both in public and private life, high-ſpirited and magnanimous; and his meaſures bold and deciſive. Equally with Oxford

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Oxford the ſlave of ambition, and leſs ſcrupulous in the means of gratifying it, there was good reaſon to fear leſt a Miniſter of this deſcription, in order to ſecure the favor of the Sovereign, who cheriſhed a ſecret but inveterate diſlike to the Houſe of Hanover, would engage with ardor in the proſecution of projects, which the phlegmatic caution of Oxford would deem romantic and impracticable, and which were alſo abhorrent from his feelings and principles. While Oxford entirely loſt the confidence of the Tories, which indeed he never perfectly poſſeſſed, by his ſlowneſs, duplicity, and indeciſion; Bolingbroke gained ground, both with the Queen and the faction, by the ſuperiority of his talents, his firmneſs and vigor. Reſolute and daring, from that conſciouſneſs of genius which led him to place an entire reliance upon the reſources of his own mind, he very early acquired, and ever after maintained, in a degree which no political leader ſince the death of Shafteſbury had been able to attain, the moſt ſurpriſing aſcendancy over the opinions of all his political aſſociates. It is difficult to conjecture, however, under what pretence or color any attempt could have been made to ſubvert the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, for which both parties publicly and uniformly profeſſed the moſt zealous attachment. In the beginning of March, the Queen, whoſe health was much affected by the

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violence of thoſe parties which ſhe found herſelf unable to control, and the ſtill more diſtreſſing animoſities and contentions of her own miniſters, went in perſon to the Houſe of Lords; and after magnifying the advantages ſecured to England by the late treaty of peace, ſhe obſerved, "That ſome perſons had been ſo malicious as to inſinuate, that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover was in danger under her government; but that thoſe who endeavored to diſtract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to diſturb the public tranquillity." This declaration was much better received by the Commons than in the Houſe of Peers, where the Whigs were very numerous and powerful. The queſtion being propoſed by the Earl of Wharton, Whether the Proteſtant ſucceſſion was in danger under the preſent adminiſtration? a very warm debate enſued; and the Lord Treaſurer Oxford, laying his hand upon his heart, declared, that he had on ſo many occaſions given ſuch ſignal proofs of affection to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, that he was confident no member of that auguſt aſſembly could ever mean to call it in queſtion. The Proteſtant ſucceſſion was at length voted out of danger by a ſmall majority*. The Earl of Wharton

* Upon this occaſion the Earl of Angleſea, who had the reputation of being at the head of the *Trimmers*, divided with the

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Wharton then moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the Queen, to iſſue a proclamation, promiſing a reward to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive; to which Lord Trevor very humanely and properly propoſed to add, "in caſe of his landing, or attempting to land, in Great Britain or Ireland." To the motion, thus mitigated and modified, the Houſe agreed; and on its being preſented to the Queen, ſhe replied in the following terms: "My Lords, it would be a real ſtrengthening to the ſucceſſion in the Houſe of Hanover, as well as a ſupport to my government, that an end were put to thoſe groundleſs fears and jealouſies which have been ſo induſtriouſly promoted. I do not, at this time, ſee any occaſion for ſuch a proclamation: whenever I judge it to be neceſſary, I ſhall give my orders for having it iſſued." The next ſtep which the never-ceaſing jealouſy of the Whigs led them to adopt, was, to perſuade the Court of Herenhauſen to order Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian

Whigs. And it has been ſhrewdly ſuggeſted, that the reaſon why ſo many of this claſs voted the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to be in danger, was their firm perſuaſion that it was perfectly ſafe. "The art of the Whigs," ſays Lord Bolingbroke, "was to blend as undiſtinguiſhably as they could, all their party intereſts with thoſe of the ſucceſſion, and they made juſt the ſame factious uſe of the *ſuppoſed* danger of it, as the Tories had endeavored to make ſome time before of the *ſuppoſed* danger of the Church."

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Envoy, to demand of the Chancellor a writ for the Electoral Prince as Duke of Cambridge, with a view to his reſidence in England. Of this deſign the Queen, however, expreſſed her diſapprobation to the Princeſs Sophia, in terms ſo ſtrong, that it was thought expedient to lay it aſide. The death of the Electreſs taking place at this period, the Elector of Brunſwic was, by an order of the Court, prayed for by name in all churches and chapels throughout England, as preſumptive heir to the Engliſh Crown. In May, a Bill to prevent the growth of Schiſm was introduced: by which Diſſenters were prohibited from all interference in the buſineſs of education. For though the evil effect was acknowledged to be without remedy, and therefore entitled to ſome indulgence, the evil cauſe, it was ſaid, ought to be prevented, and was therefore entitled to none. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Whigs, who were inflamed with a juſt indignation at this atrocious invaſion of the natural rights of mankind, this deteſtable Bill paſſed through both Houſes, and received the royal aſſent. This was however the laſt triumph of the Tory party, many of whom were undoubtedly diſpoſed to have gone far greater lengths. But the Queen's conſtitution was now ſo entirely broken, that it was evident ſhe approached towards the concluſion of her life: and the miniſters of the Crown, in the alarming pro-

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ſpect of her diſſolution, thought of little elſe than their private intereſts and perſonal ſafety. Oxford and Bolingbroke were now ſo exaſperated againſt each other, that they could not abſtain from the moſt indecent and bitter altercation, even in the preſence of the Queen. Not, a ſingle meaſure, however, was adopted at this critical period, by which it could be inferred that the Miniſtry entertained deſigns hoſtile to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. On the contrary, attempts having been made to enliſt men for the ſervice of the Pretender, a proclamation was immediately iſſued, promiſing a reward of 5000l. for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he ſhould land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland. Both Houſes voted an addreſs of thanks for this proclamation; and Lord Bolingbroke himſelf brought in a Bill, denouncing the penalties of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould enliſt, or be enliſted, in the Pretender's ſervice. On the 9th of July the ſeſſion was terminated by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the Queen affirmed, that her chief concern was to preſerve the Proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. On the 27th of July the Earl of Oxford was unexpectedly diveſted of the ſtaff of Treaſurer; and Bolingbroke found himſelf elevated to the ſummit of power, by the ſudden and total fall of his rival. This ſplendid pre-eminence, however, he

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enjoyed only for a moment. The Queen, who was perceived to be extremely agitated from the time of the diſmiſſion of Lord Oxford, never recovered her compoſure of mind; but, as if altogether exhauſted by inceſſant fatigue, chagrin, and vexation, ſhe gradually ſunk into a kind of lethargy, in which ſtate ſhe remained till Sunday morning Auguſt 1 (1714), when ſhe expired, in the 50th year of her age, and 13th of her reign.

Whatever projects Bolingbroke might have in contemplation, they were entirely diſconcerted by the firmneſs and ſpirit with which the leaders of the Whig party acted upon this occaſion. A meeting of the Privy Council being convened when the Queen was on the verge of departure, they took their places at the Council-board without any regular ſummons, and immediately proceeded, by the moſt vigorous meaſures, to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom. Orders were diſpatched to ſeveral regiments of horſe and dragoons to march towards the metropolis. Directions were given for equipping a fleet with all expedition. An expreſs was ſent off to the Elector of Hanover, ſignifying, that the Queen's life was deſpaired of, and deſiring that he would without delay repair to Holland, where he would find a Britiſh ſquadron ready to convoy him to England. Inſtructions were at the ſame time diſpatched to the Earl of Strafford, Ambaſſador at the Hague,

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to demand from the States the performance of their engagements, as guarantees of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion; and the heralds at arms were kept in waiting, in order to proclaim the new King the inſtant the throne ſhould become vacant. No ſymptoms of popular tumult or diſcontent however, much leſs of oppoſition, appeared on this great occaſion; and whatever might be intended, it is certain nothing was effected by the late Queen and her miniſters in favor of the Pretender.

The death of that Princeſs muſt notwithſtanding, upon the whole, be regarded as a very ſeaſonable and fortunate event. For, had Bolingbroke been fully eſtabliſhed in the poſt of Prime Miniſter, it is impoſſible to aſcertain the extent of the miſchief which might eventually have reſulted from the union of ſuch uncommon talents with ſuch a total want or diſregard of principle. The Queen, however, merits our pity at leaſt as much as our cenſure. Her partiality for her own family, and her diſlike of the Houſe of Hanover, were natural and pardonable. The Queen's own political conduct, notwithſtanding her high theoretical principles of government, was uniformly regulated by the ſtricteſt regard to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, for the welfare of which ſhe entertained even a maternal ſolicitude: and, if ever ſhe indulged the idea of cauſing the Crown, at her deceaſe, to revert to the hereditary, and, doubtleſs,

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as ſhe imagined, the true and rightful claimant, it was certainly only on conditions, which, in her opinion, would have effectually ſecured both the Proteſtant religion and the Engliſh conſtitution from the hazard of future violation.

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K. GEORGE I.

GEORGE-LOUIS, Elector of Hanover, and head of the House of BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG, derived his descent from the blood-royal of England by his mother Sophia, daughter of Frederic, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia; who married Elizabeth of England, only daughter of James I. It is evident therefore, that the title of this Prince was founded solely on the choice of the Parliament, *i. e.* of the people or nation; and that the usual order of succession was entirely superseded. For, *admitting* the male line of the House of Stuart to have been extinguished in the person of James II., the right of blood rested in the House of Savoy, descended from Henrietta Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I. And the Princess Sophia herself being the youngest daughter of the unfortunate Palatine, more than fifty descendants of that Prince prior in the order of succession were passed over in the Act of William,

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liam, which ſettled the Crown of England on the Houſe of Hanover. So that the rights of the people were not only aſſerted, but exerciſed in their full extent: and the family upon the throne is indiſputably *an elected family*, though the general law or rule of ſucceſſion remains unaltered. The new Monarch was, at the period of his acceſſion, in the 55th year of his age, being born the day before the reſtoration of K. Charles II. The uniform prudence with which this Prince had conducted himſelf throughout the conflicts of the late reign, the general reſpectability of his character, and the auſpicious circumſtances which attended his elevation, ſeemed to augur calm and proſperous days. The embers of civil diſcord and animoſity were extinguiſhed however only in appearance, and the violent meaſures which the King was unhappily perſuaded to adopt, ſoon rekindled not only the torch of ſedition but the flames of war. The kingdom might at this time be conſidered as divided with great nearneſs of equality into the two adverſe factions of Whigs and Tories; the latter of which, from the egregious indiſcretion of the Whigs in the fatal buſineſs of Sacheverel, had recently acquired a great addition of ſtrength and vigor. But it muſt not be imagined that all who were included in the appellation of Tories, who deteſted the principles, civil and religious, maintained by the Whigs, as deſtructive of the antient conſti-

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conſtitution and orthodox faith, and who hated ſtill more the perſons of the Whigs than their principles, as their perpetual and implacable rivals for power, diſtinction, and popularity, were therefore attached as a party to the exiled family. Doubtleſs a great majority of them would have been ſeriouſly alarmed at any attempt to reſtore the ſon of the late King James to the throne, at leaſt while he remained a Papiſt; and his notorious bigotry precluded almoſt every hope or expectation of his converſion to Proteſtantiſm. Previous to the æra of the Revolution, the ſpeculative line of diſcrimination between the two grand factions of the State, now gradually fading into obſcurity, was clearly and ſtrongly marked. The WHIGS maintained civil government to be an inſtitution of human origin and appointment, conſonant indeed to the divine will, as eſſential to the order and happineſs of the moral and rational creation. The powers veſted in the civil magiſtrate they regarded therefore as a delegation or truſt from the people; and it was a neceſſary conſequence of this doctrine, that the individuals entruſted with theſe powers were ultimately reſponſible to the people for the exerciſe of them, and liable to be degraded and puniſhed for the abuſe of them. They aſſerted that there were unalienable rights inherent in human nature, for the preſervation of which, government was originally inſtituted; amongſt the chief-

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eſt and moſt important of which they accounted the right which every man poſſeſſes of worſhipping GOD, not according to a decree of the State, but to the dictates of his own conſcience. In other words, they maintained the principle of TOLERATION, not as a matter of favor, but of juſtice. And this principle was conſidered by them as violated, not only by laws profeſſedly penal, but by any excluſion from the common rights and privileges of citizenſhip, founded not on any ſpecies of civil delinquency, but the mere unavoidable diverſity of religious opinions. The TORIES, on the other hand, rejected theſe doctrines with vehement indignation and abhorrence, as ſubverſive of the welfare, and even of the exiſtence, of civil ſociety. They aſſerted that government was expreſsly ordained of GOD, from whom alone Princes derive their authority, and to whom alone they were reſponſible for their actions—that to reſiſt the will of the Sovereign, was in effect to reſiſt the will of GOD—and that although, when the commands of the Sovereign were directly oppoſed to the commands of GOD, an active obedience could not be lawfully yielded; yet even in theſe extreme caſes it was the duty of the ſubject quietly to ſubmit to all the conſequences of his non-compliance: and that paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance were at all times and in all caſes right and obligatory, where active obedience became either criminal or impracticable. They were

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were far from denying that it was the duty of the Prince to conſult and provide for the welfare and happineſs of the people, as the great end of his government; but for any neglect or contempt of this duty, there was, as they aſſerted, no lawful remedy but humble petition and remonſtrance. That the people had rights, they admitted; but theſe rights were not to be defended by force. In the number of theſe rights, however, they did not include the right of private judgment in religion. They conceived it to be the duty of individuals to acquieſce in that *formula* of doctrines, and to conform to that mode of worſhip, which the wiſdom of the State had provided; that to oppoſe private to public opinion was in all caſes preſumptuous and unwarrantable; and in matters of religion more eſpecially dangerous, and doubly culpable, as a contemptuous defiance of the united authority of Church and State *. Subſequent to the Revolution,

* That this delineation of the principles by which the two great parties in the State were diſtinguiſhed is accurate and juſt, may be demonſtrated by an appeal to that perfect ſtandard of Toryiſm and High-Churchiſm, the ever-memorable decree of the Univerſity of Oxford, paſſed in full Convocation, July 21, 1683, and preſented to the King (Charles II.), July 24. "The VICE CHANCELLOR, Doctors, Proctors, and Maſters, regent and non-regent, met in Convocation, decree, judge, and declare, to the honor of the holy and undivided Trinity, the preſervation of the Catholic truth in the Church, and that the King's Majeſty may be ſecured from the machinations of treacherous

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lution, however, in which great tranſaction the Tories had taken a very laudable and decided part, they appear to have been much embarraſſed to maintain the credit and conſiſtency of their ſyſtem. At the trial of Sacheverel, the Duke of Leeds, ſo famous under his former title of Earl of Danby,

cherous Heretics and Schiſmatics—all and every of the following propoſitions (cum multis aliis) to be falſe, ſeditious, and impious, and deſtructive of all government in Church and State.

* * * * * *

"All civil government is derived originally from the people.

* * * * * *

"That there is a mutual compact, tacit or expreſs, between a Prince and his ſubjects, and that if he perform not his duty, they are diſcharged from theirs.

* * * * * *

"That if lawful governors become tyrants, or govern otherwiſe than by the laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the right they had unto their government.

* * * * * *

"The Sovereignty of England is in the three eſtates—viz. King, Lords, and Commons; the King having but a co-ordinate or ſubordinate power.

* * * * * *

"Self-preſervation is the fundamental law of nature, and ſuperſedes all others whenſoever they ſtand in competition with it.

* * * * * *

"There is no obligation upon Chriſtians to paſſive obedience, when the Prince commands any thing contrary to the laws.

* * * * * *

"It is not lawful for ſuperiors to impoſe any thing in the worſhip of God that is not antecedently neceſſary.

* * * * * *

"Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to death; and if the Judges and inferior Magiſtrates will not do their office, the power of the ſword devolves to the people."

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and who had himſelf given a noble proof of his patriotiſm by ſigning the invitation to the Prince of Orange, ſcrupled not to declare the Revolution to be an event, however urgent the political neceſſity of it, utterly irreconcilable with any juſt principles of government; that thoſe who examined it leaſt therefore were its beſt friends; and that a veil ought to be thrown over that tranſaction, inſtead of quoting it as a precedent fit and proper for imitation*. Many of this party ſatisfied themſelves with the notion of an abdication on the part of the Monarch, and aſſerted with Sacheverel himſelf, in defiance of facts, that the nation did not reſiſt. The generality of the Tories, however, in-

* Nothing is more common or more eaſy than for perſons who are far removed from the embarraſſments and temptations incident to thoſe who occupy diſtinguiſhed ſtations in public life, to cenſure the leaſt deviation from the rigid line of rectitude, in terms of harſh and indiſcriminate ſeverity; thus indirectly aſſerting their own claim to the praiſe of immaculate and incorruptible integrity, beyond the poſſibility of *confutation*; though there may perhaps ariſe a *ſuſpicion* that, in the hour of trial and danger, the patriotiſm and public ſpirit of the accuſed might be found beyond all compariſon to ſurpaſs that of their dogmatical and virulent accuſers, who would fain perſuade us that there is no virtue in men whoſe conduct indicates any mixture of human weakneſs and infirmity.—Theſe obſervations are particularly applicable to the Earl of Danby, who more than redeemed his political errors and delinquencies by the glorious ardor with which, at the extreme hazard of his life and fortune, he concurred in the original formation, and ſubſequent happy and ſucceſsful accompliſhment, of the ever-memorable Revolution.

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cluding almoſt the whole body of the Clergy, highly offended with the unexpected advancement of the Prince of Orange to the throne, adopted the famous diſtinction of a King *de facto*, and a King *de jure*: and by yielding a paſſive obedience to the Monarch in poſſeſſion, they flattered themſelves that they conſulted their intereſt without abandoning their principle. After the death of the Duke of Glouceſter, the MARCELLUS of England, the national deteſtation of Popery, which equally pervaded all parties, induced the Tories to acquieſce in the parliamentary ſettlement of the Crown on the Houſe of Hanover, as the leaſt of two great evils, without appearing very ſolicitous, after the lapſe of ſo many years, to reconcile their practice with a theory the original uncontaminated dignity of which it was no longer poſſible for them to maintain. The Whigs, on the contrary, had ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ardor of their zeal for the Hanover ſucceſſion. Nor would the ſtrength of their attachment to that Houſe have been ſhaken or impaired by any recantations or proteſtations, however frequent or ſolemn, on the part of the Pretender. Under the banners of this party, the Diſſenters of all denominations ranged themſelves with eagerneſs; and in a political view they might be conſidered as directly oppoſed to the Jacobites, who regarded the Sectaries with peculiar malignity, and who, under the general

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neral denomination of Tories, ſought for occaſions of ſubverting the preſent eſtabliſhment, with anxiety as inceſſant as the Diſſenters to fortify and ſecure it. Under theſe circumſtances, it is no wonder that the King ſhould entertain a ſtrong predilection for the Whigs; and being educated in the principles of Lutheraniſm, which bear a nearer analogy to Preſbyterianiſm than to Epiſcopacy, he regarded the Diſſenters with favor, as men whoſe political and religious opinions rendered them his firmeſt and moſt unalterable friends; and it is ſaid that, the unfortunate fate of King Charles I. being once mentioned in his preſence, as a proof of their implacable animoſity to Kings, he replied with a pleaſant indifference, "that he had nothing to fear, for that the King-killers were all on his ſide." Convinced that no danger was to be apprehended on the death of the Queen, either from foreign or domeſtic enemies, he appeared in no haſte to leave Herenhauſen; and it was not till the middle of September that he arrived in England, which exhibited every-where the appearance of ſatisfaction and tranquillity. The King of France, of whom alone any jealouſy could be entertained, ordered, on the firſt intelligence of the demiſe of the Queen, M. D'Ibberville, his Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of London, to declare, in the moſt explicit terms, his reſolution to adhere to the terms of the late treaty, and his ſincere deſire to maintain the moſt perfect

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perfect amity and good understanding with the new Sovereign: and Count Konigseg, the Imperial Ambassador, offered, in the name of the Emperor his master, any number of troops that might be wanted at this crisis, to support the authority of Government. Previous to the departure of the King from Hanover, notwithstanding the present fair and flattering appearances, he had transmitted orders to the Regency *, consisting of the seven great Officers of State, and certain other per-

* For the mere purpose of embarrassing the Whigs, a motion had been made in Parliament by the Tories, A. D. 1705, for an address to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty to invite the Princess Sophia, presumptive heiress to the Crown, to reside within the realm. The Whigs raised their credit extremely with the Queen, to whom this motion was very offensive, by the strenuous opposition which they hesitated not to give to it; and in order to preserve their credit with the nation, a Bill was brought in, under the sanction of the Whig Ministry, for securing the Protestant succession; by which, in case of the Queen's demise, the executive power of Government was vested in the persons holding the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, in conjunction with certain other persons, nominated as Regents by the successor in three lists to be sealed up and deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Minister residentiary of Hanover. This Bill the Tories in their turn opposed with violence; but it passed by a great majority, and with the general approbation of the nation; and the Tories, by their injudicious conduct in the whole of this transaction, afforded their rivals a great and decisive advantage.

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ſons appointed in virtue of an act paſſed in the late reign, to remove Lord Bolingbroke from his poſt of Secretary of State, and to ſeal up the doors of his office. This was ominous of the change of miniſtry, which took place immediately on his aſſumption of the regal power. And it was no leſs abſolute and deciſive than that which preceded it, A. D. 1710. The Earl of Halifax was made Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, the King refuſing to create a Lord High Treaſurer; not chooſing, as he ſaid, that there ſhould be any greater man in the kingdom than himſelf. Lord Townſhend and General Stanhope were nominated Secretaries of State, and to them was chiefly committed the direction of foreign affairs. The Earl of Nottingham, the only Tory admitted into the new adminiſtration, was declared Preſident of the Council, the former council being previouſly diſſolved. Lord Cowper was reinſtated in the high office of Chancellor; the command of the army reſtored to the Duke of Marlborough; the privy ſeal given to the Earl of Wharton, and Lord Sunderland appointed to the government of Ireland. Hitherto no more was done than might have been with certainty expected: no more than the attachments and even the intereſts of the new government might reaſonably perhaps be thought to require. But it quickly appeared that meaſures of great ſeverity, amount-

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ing to almoſt a general proſcription of the Tory party, were determined upon by the Whigs, who were now in full and excluſive poſſeſſion of the government; and whoſe power ſeemed eſtabliſhed on a baſis ſo firm, as might, if the ſpirit of equity and moderation had influenced their councils, have inclined them to a milder and more temperate ſyſtem of policy. The Parliament, which aſſembled in March 1715, was compoſed almoſt entirely of Whigs, who were well diſpoſed to ſecond the moſt vindictive meaſures which could be ſuggeſted by the adminiſtration: "For the miniſters," ſays Lord Bolingbroke, "whoſe true intereſt it muſt always be to calm the minds of men, were upon this occaſion the tribunes of the people."

The royal proclamation convoking this aſſembly contained in it the following indiſcreet expreſſions: "It having pleaſed Almighty GOD, by moſt remarkable ſteps of his providence, to bring us ſafe to the crown of this kingdom, notwithſtanding the deſigns of evil men, we do not doubt that our loving ſubjects will, in the enſuing elections, have particular regard to ſuch as ſhewed a firmneſs to the Proteſtant ſucceſſion *when it was in danger*." This was ſtyled by Sir William Wyndham, a member conſpicuous for his parliamentary talents, no leſs than his zealous attachment to the Tory intereſt, "an unprecedented and unwarrantable

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rantable exertion of the prerogative, and of dangerous conſequence to the very being of parliaments, for which, having refuſed to apologize, he was, by order of the Houſe, reprimanded by the Speaker, who intimated that it was owing to the extraordinary lenity of the Houſe, that he was not committed to the Tower. Sir William Wyndham in reply declared, "that he was neither conſcious of offering any indignity to his Majeſty, nor of violating the privileges of that Houſe; and that he had therefore no thanks to give thoſe gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had brought this cenſure upon him." This incident ſufficiently indicated the temper of the Houſe, the attention of which was however quickly engaged by far greater objects, in conſequence of official information from General Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, a man of diſtinguiſhed ability, and who had in the late reign ſuffered ſeverely for his attachment to the Whig intereſt, under the recollection of which he yet ſmarted *, that the papers found in the office of the late

* In the ſeſſion of parliament 1711, Mr. Walpole, on pretence of a *douceur* of 1000 guineas ſaid to have been received by him, or with his conſent, from the profits of a certain government contract made by him when Secretary at War, was voted guilty of an high breach of truſt and notorious corruption, was committed priſoner to the Tower, and expelled the Houſe, and a proſecution ordered to be inſtituted againſt him.

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Lord Bolingbroke would afford ample ground for impeaching various of the members of the former adminiſtration, which they affirmed to be the moſt wicked and corrupt that had ever ſat at the helm of affairs in this country. This nobleman, who had hitherto preſerved the appearance of great ſerenity; attending and even taking a part, as uſual, in the debates of the Houſe of Lords; now withdrew with great precipitation to the Continent. In the beginning of April General Stanhope laid before the Houſe of Commons all the papers relating to the negotiations of the late miniſtry with France, which were immediately referred to a ſelect committee of twenty-one perſons; and in June Mr. Walpole, as chairman, made the report, in which the ſecret preliminaries ſigned with M. Meſnager, the ſuſpenſion of arms, the ſeizure of Ghent and Bruges by the Duke of Ormond, Lord Bolingbroke's journey to Paris, and ſeparate conferences with the French miniſtry; in a word, all the meaſures which preceded or facilitated the concluſion of the peace of Utrecht, were ſtated as highly criminal. And Mr. Walpole, boldly aſſerting that to vindicate theſe meaſures was in a manner to ſhare the guilt of them, terminated the report by impeaching Henry Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke of HIGH TREASON; and Lord Coningſby immediately ſtanding up, exclaimed, "The worthy Chairman has

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has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head —I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer of high treaſon." On the 21ſt June General Stanhope impeached the Duke of Ormond of high treaſon; and the day following Mr. Aiſlabie impeached the Earl of Strafford of high crimes and miſdemeanors. And ſuch was the temper of the Houſe, that theſe impeachments were for the moſt part carried without difficulty, and almoſt without a diviſion. It is notwithſtanding very hard to diſcover upon what conſtitutional grounds any of theſe impeachments could be voted, and much leſs how the charges contained in them could amount to the crime of high treaſon. The meaſures adopted by the late Tory miniſtry were, it muſt be allowed, diſgraceful to the reputation, incompatible with the engagements, and in ſome points injurious to the intereſts, of the kingdom. But as nothing was done without the ſanction and concurrence of Parliament, on what pretence of juſtice miniſters could be puniſhed for carrying into effect meaſures of ſtate policy which had received either the previous or ſubſequent approbation of the Legiſlature, it ſeems difficult or rather impoſſible to deviſe. To miſlead or delude the parliament into a miſtaken approbation of any ſpecific meaſures of government by defective or erroneous information, is indeed an high offence: But to execute meaſures

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approved by the Legiſlature, in conſequence of full and ſufficient information, cannot be criminal in individuals holding offices of reſponſibility, becauſe it is their duty to conform to the public will; and to the Legiſlature itſelf it would be ſoleciſm and abſurdity to impute criminality. Of the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond in particular, a nobleman of unblemiſhed integrity, of honor without a ſtain, equally diſtinguiſhed by courteſy and courage; no leſs the ornament of his country than its defence; the injuſtice appears groſs and manifeſt. Of all the charges adduced againſt the late miniſtry, the ſuſpenſion of arms, which was productive of conſequences ſo diſaſtrous and fatal, was one of the moſt, or rather was incomparably the moſt ſerious, and of the greateſt magnitude. But it cannot be pretended that the Duke of Ormond could or ought to exerciſe any diſcretion in this caſe: His orders were peremptory and poſitive. And for any military commander to aſſume, under ſuch circumſtances, a diſpenſing power, and to preſume to act in open contradiction to the authority from which he derives his commiſſion, would indeed call for and juſtify a parliamentary impeachment. The Duke ſeeing the ſpirit of faction and revenge ſo ſtrongly predominate in the proceedings againſt him, followed Lord Bolingbroke to the Continent; and both theſe noblemen, irritated by perſecution,

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ſecution, and deſtitute of reſource, entered into the ſervice of the court at St. Germaine's now removed to Commerci in Lorraine, which received by this means a dangerous addition of talents and ſtrength *. On his arrival in France Lord Bolingbroke apologized in a letter to his friend

* Though Lord Bolingbroke ſuffered himſelf to be engaged by earneſt ſolicitation in the ſervice of the Pretender, and even accepted the ſeals as Secretary of State to that ſhadow of a King, while, as he expreſſes it, "the ſmart of a bill of attainder tingled in every vein;" on perceiving the hopeleſs condition of his affairs, and the weakneſs and diſtraction of his counſels, he willingly received, in about ſix months, his diſmiſſion from this unenviable pre-eminence. It is a curious circumſtance, that on leaving the Pretender's ſervice this nobleman had articles of impeachment formally exhibited againſt him, branched out into the ſeveral heads of treachery, incapacity, and neglect: To which he made an elaborate reply, expreſſing, at the cloſe of it, his obligation to the Pretender, for "cutting by this means that Gordian knot aſunder, by which he had conceived himſelf for ever bound to his intereſts, and which would have effectually precluded every idea of making his peace at home;—an event which from this time became the object of his inceſſant intrigues and ſolicitations. The Duke of Ormond, who was much more in earneſt in his attachment to the exiled family, and who diſdained to court a reconciliation with that country by which he conſidered himſelf as treated with the higheſt injuſtice and ingratitude, retained, during the remainder of his life, his ſtation in the Pretender's court, around the cheerleſs and contracted circle of which he alone reflected ſome ſcattered rays of luſtre. Previous to his departure from London he viſited, for the laſt time, the Earl of Oxford, who diſſuaded him from flying with as much earneſtneſs as he in-

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friend Lord Lanſdowne for his ſudden and abrupt departure: "You will," ſaid he, "excuſe me when you know that I had certain and repeated information, from ſome who are in the ſecret of affairs, that a reſolution was taken by thoſe who have power to execute it, to purſue me to the ſcaffold. Had there been the leaſt reaſon to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged unheard by two Houſes of Parliament, I ſhould not have declined the ſtricteſt examination. I challenge the moſt inveterate of my enemies to produce one inſtance of a criminal correſpondence, or the leaſt corruption of any part of the adminiſtration in which I was concerned." The Earl of Oxford, however, conſcious of the ſteadineſs of his attachment to the Houſe of Hanover, of the King's real obligation to him, and of his knowledge of that obligation, determined to abide the fury of this political tempeſt; and the impeachment preferred by the Commons being followed by a motion in the Houſe of Peers for his commitment, he roſe to ſpeak in his defence, obſerving "that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiation and concluſion of the peace. That the nation wanted a peace," he ſaid, "no one would deny; and he averred, that the conditions upon which it was made were as good as

treated Oxford to make his eſcape. He at length parted from the Earl with theſe words: "Farewell, Oxford, without a head." To which Oxford replied, "Farewell, Duke, without a duchy."

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the obſtinate and perverſe reluctance of the Allies to concur in the Queen's meaſures would admit: That it had been approved by two ſucceſſive Parliaments: That he had acted by the expreſs commands of his Sovereign, without offending againſt any known law; and being juſtified in his conſcience, was unconcerned for the life of an inſignificant old man." The Earl was attended to the Tower by a prodigious concourſe of people, ſhouting, "High Church, Ormond and Oxford for ever!" And the riots and tumults which enſued in various parts of the kingdom, fully juſtified and verified the expreſſion of the Earl of Angleſey, in the debate of this day, "that it was to be feared ſuch violent meaſures would make the ſceptre ſhake in the King's hands;" for which the Houſe in its wiſdom inſiſted upon his making an apology. When the articles of impeachment were exhibited againſt the Earl of Strafford, that nobleman complained of the arbitrary and illegal ſeizure of his papers, and deſired a competent time to prepare for his defence; requiring for this purpoſe duplicates both of ſuch as had been laid before the Committee of Secreſy, and of thoſe remaining in the hands of Government. This requeſt, to the diſgrace of the ruling party, was vehemently oppoſed, until the Earl of Ilay repreſented "that in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, *the Inquiſition excepted*, allowed the perſons arraigned all that was neceſſary to their juſtification; and that the

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the Houſe of Peers of Great Britain would not, he was perſuaded, in a caſe of this nature, do any thing contrary to that honor and equity, for which they were ſo juſtly renowned through Europe." The Houſe, thus ſuddenly and powerfully awakened to a ſenſe of their own dignity, reſolved that the Earl ſhould be allowed copies of ſuch papers as he might have occaſion to uſe in his defence. Bills of attainder, in default of perſonal appearance, paſſed againſt the Duke of Ormond and Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke. Their names and armorial bearings were erazed from the rolls of the Peerage, by order of the Houſe; and the Duke's achievements as Knight of the Garter taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windſor: And from the addreſs of the Speaker to the King at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, which was protracted to the end of the ſummer, it does not appear that the anger of the Houſe had ſuffered any abatement. "Your Commons," ſaid the Speaker, Sir Spencer Compton *, "could not ſee without the utmoſt indignation the glories of her late Majeſty's reign tarniſhed by a treacherous ceſſation of arms—the faith of treaties violated—that antient probity for which the Engliſh nation had been juſtly renowned throughout all ages, expoſed to ſcorn and contempt.—Such was the condition of the kingdom, when it pleaſed the divine Providence to call your

* Afterwards created Earl of Wilmington.

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Majeſty to the throne of your anceſtors, under whoſe auſpicious reign, your Commons behold with pleaſure the glory of the Plantagenets, your Majeſty's royal anceſtors, revive, and have an unbounded proſpect of the continuance of this happineſs to the lateſt poſterity." A very great part of the nation being much inflamed with the late extraordinary proceedings, the partizans of the Pretender were incited to exert themſelves with redoubled vigor and activity; and it was determined at one and the ſame time to take up arms in both kingdoms againſt the Government. In the month of September 1715, the Earl of Mar ſet up the ſtandard of rebellion, and proclaimed the Pretender, under the ſtyle and title of King James III. at Caſtletown in Scotland, and ſoon collected an army of ten thouſand men. The vigilance of the Government in a great meaſure rendered abortive the deſigns concerted by the adherents of the Houſe of Stuart on the ſouth of the Tweed. The Habeas Corpus Act being ſuſpended, ſeveral noblemen were committed to the Tower, amongſt whom were Lord Lanſdowne and the Earl of Jerſey, who had engaged to join the Duke of Ormond on his intended landing in the Weſt. By previous conſent of the Lower Houſe of Parliament, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Harvey, and various other members of that Houſe, were ſeized and committed to cloſe cuſtody, the bail of the Duke of

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of Somerſet, father-in-law to Sir William Wyndham, being peremptorily refuſed, and the Duke himſelf, for ſome indiſcreet expreſſions of reſentment, removed from his place of Maſter of the Horſe. Notwithſtanding, however, theſe ſpirited and reſolute meaſures of prevention, the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Foſter appeared at the head of an armed force in Northumberland, and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth, Penrith, Lancaſter, and other places, in their progreſs to the ſouthward. At their arrival at Preſton, November 12, they were attacked by the King's forces under the Generals Willes and Carpenter, who inveſting the town on all ſides, compelled them to ſurrender at diſcretion: And the very ſame day a bloody battle was fought, between the Earl of Mar and the Duke of Argyle, at Sheriff-moor, near Dumblaine in Scotland. The Duke, apprized of the intention of the Earl of Mar to croſs the Forth, in order to join the inſurgents in the Lowlands, haſtened to ſecure the paſſes of that river, which he himſelf croſſed at Stirling, and immediately took poſſeſſion, with a force not exceeding 4000 men, of the heights of Dumblaine. The Earl of Mar now advanced to the attack; and the Clans of Glengary and Clanronald, which formed part of the enemy's right wing, ruſhed down upon the Royaliſts, ſword in hand, with ſuch determined and irreſiſtible impetuoſity, that the left wing of the

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the King's army was in a ſhort time entirely broke, and General Whetham, who commanded it, carried the news of his own defeat with incredible expedition to Stirling—declaring the ruin of the whole army to be inevitable. In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, who commanded the right wing in perſon, charged the enemy with the moſt heroic ardor, and drove them before him, about two miles, as far as the Loch of Allen, though they repeatedly attempted to rally. On his return from this purſuit, he was unexpectedly confronted by the victorious rebels on their return from the purſuit of Whetham; and each army found itſelf poſſeſſed of the ſtation occupied, in the early part of the engagement, by the adverſary. In this poſture they remained till evening, when the rebels returned to Ardoch, and the Duke to Dumblaine; and next day marching back to the field of battle, he carried off the wounded, and ſeveral pieces of cannon left by the enemy. Though the engagement was thus indeciſive, all the honor, as well as advantage, of the fight, reſted with the Duke of Argyle, who, with a force ſo inferior, had entirely diſconcerted the ſchemes of his antagoniſt by the moſt intrepid perſonal exertions. Various ſucceſſes were obtained alſo by the Royaliſts in the northern parts of Scotland, where the loſs of Inverneſs was very ſeverely felt by the rebels; and Argyle being now joined by large reinforcements,

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it was with difficulty Mar kept the field till the arrival of the Pretender in perſon, who landed at Peter-head Dec. 26th, and immediately iſſued various proclamations: One of which was for ſummoning a Convention of the Eſtates; a ſecond ordering all fencible men to repair to his ſtandard; and a third fixing a day for his coronation. He cheriſhed, however, no ſanguine hope of ſucceſs: "For me," ſaid he in a ſpeech addreſſed to his friends convened in council, "it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate: My whole life, even from my cradle, has ſhewn a conſtant ſeries of misfortunes, and I am prepared, if ſo it pleaſe God, to ſuffer the threats of my enemies and yours." In a very ſhort time the folly and raſhneſs of the enterpriſe became ſo apparent, that on receiving intelligence of the approach of the Duke of Argyle, he reſolved to embark on board a French ſhip lying in the harbor of Montroſe, accompanied by the Earls of Mar and Melfort, which ſtretching over to Norway, in order to avoid purſuit, and coaſting along the ſhores of Germany and Holland, arrived in five days at Graveline: The rebel army retiring northward, quietly diſperſed without making any farther effort, or receiving the ſlighteſt moleſtation. The extreme miſconduct and want of capacity apparent in the whole of this enterpriſe, was deciſive of the perſonal diſpoſition and character of the claimant of the Britiſh crown; and the impolitic

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impolitic violence, which had hitherto predominated in the counſels of the new Monarch, was happily compenſated by the wretched imbecility of his rival. "Should the Pretender ever be reſtored, it was eaſy," Lord Bolingbroke tells us, "to ſee that the Court of St. James's would be conſtituted in the ſame manner as that of St. Germaine's." On being preſented with the draft of a declaration to be diſperſed in England, he took exception againſt ſeveral paſſages, and particularly thoſe by which a direct promiſe of ſecuring the churches of England and Scotland was made. He was *told*," he ſaid, "that he could not, in conſcience, make ſuch a promiſe;" and, on being farther urged to compliance, aſked with warmth, why the Tories were ſo deſirous to have him, if they expected thoſe things from him which his religion did not allow?" And after conſulting his confidents and caſuiſts, the papers were at length printed, with amendments which exhibited the extreme of Jeſuitical prevarication, inſomuch that Lord Bolingbroke abſolutely refuſed to counterſign them. Intoxicated with ſuperſtition and enthuſiaſtic zeal, all efforts were quickly perceived to be loſt on a man whoſe obſtinacy and prejudice were fortified by the native narrowneſs of his underſtanding. "His religion," ſays the nobleman juſt mentioned, "is not founded on the love of virtue, and the deteſtation of vice, on a ſenſe of that

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that obedience which is due to the will of the Supreme Being, or of thoſe obligations which creatures formed to live in a mutual dependence on one another lie under. The ſpring of his whole conduct is *fear*; he has all the ſuperſtition of a Capuchin, but I found in him no tincture of the religion of a Prince; and I converſed with very few among the Roman Catholics themſelves, who did not think him too much a Papiſt." Although the rebellion in both kingdoms was thus happily and ſpeedily ſuppreſſed, the clemency of the King did not appear ſo conſpicuous as might have been wiſhed, and reaſonably expected. The Lords Derwentwater, Nithiſdale, and Nairne, with divers other noblemen, being tried in Weſtminſter Hall, received ſentence of death, Earl Cowper preſiding as Lord High Steward. And notwithſtanding the affecting and urgent ſupplications of the Counteſſes of Derwentwater and Nithiſdale, and Lady Nairne, who threw themſelves at the King's feet, and implored his mercy, no mitigation of the ſentence could be obtained; and very many of the lower claſſes of the people fell a ſacrifice to the fatal deluſion of thoſe miſtaken principles which led them to engage in this revolt *, which might, in

* For the following curious anecdote we are indebted to the Rev. Mr. Macaulay's ingenious topographical Hiſtory of the Pariſh of Claybroke in Leiceſterſhire: One Paul, a clergyman, and Vicar of Orton upon the Hill in that county, was tried and convicted

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in all human probability have been eaſily prevented by the adoption of a more equitable and generous policy. "Certain it is," ſays Lord Bolingbroke, "if milder meaſures had been purſued, that the Tories would never have univerſally embraced Jacobitiſm: the violence of the Whigs forced them into the arms of the Pretender, and dyed the royal ermines in blood." The King was notwithſtanding of a diſpoſition by no means harſh or implacable. On the contrary, it was with extreme heſitation and reluctance that he concurred in the meaſures which he was aſſured were neceſſary to his ſafety. And we are told, that when Lord Somers, who in a ſtate of great corporeal infirmity ſtill retained his wonted powers of mind, was informed by Lord Townſhend, with much exultation, that the King had at length conſented to all that was required of him, this aged and venerable patriot aſked him with great emotion, and ſhedding many tears, whether they meant to re-

convicted, A. D. 1715, of high treaſon, he having joined the rebels at Preſton in Lancaſhire, and ſuffered, with the moſt undaunted reſolution, the utmoſt rigor of the law. On the Sunday previous to his departure he preached a ſermon at his own pariſh church, from Ezek. xxi. 26, 27. "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Remove the diadem, and take off the crown. Exalt him that is low, and abaſe him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn, and it ſhall be no more, until he come whoſe right it is, and I will give it unto him."

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vive the proſcriptions of Marius and Sylla*. The miniſtry, perceiving and probably reſenting the general diſcontent and diſaffection of the people to

* "All the traditional accounts of this nobleman," ſays Mr. Walpole, now Lord Orford, who has delineated his character with great felicity, "the hiſtorians of the laſt age, and its beſt authors, repreſent him as the moſt incorrupt lawyer and the honeſteſt ſtateſman; as a maſter-orator, a genius of the fineſt taſte, and as a patriot of the nobleſt and moſt extenſive views; as a man who diſpenſed bleſſings by his life, and planned them for poſterity. Mr. Addiſon, who has drawn a labored but diffuſe and feeble character of him in the Freeholder, tells us that he gained great eſteem with Queen Anne, who had conceived many unreaſonable prejudices againſt him. Mr. Addiſon might as well have ſaid that the Queen had at firſt diſbelieved, and was afterwards converted to Sir Iſaac Newton's ſyſtem of comets. Her Majeſty was full as good a judge of aſtronomy as of Lord Somers's merits. The momentous times in which he lived gave Lord Somers opportunities of diſplaying the extent of his capacity, and the patriotiſm of his heart. The excellent balance of our conſtitution never appeared in a clearer light than with relation to this Lord, who, though impeached by a miſguided Houſe of Commons, with all the intemperate folly that at times diſgraced the free ſtates of Greece, yet had full liberty to vindicate his innocence, and manifeſt an integrity which could never have ſhone ſo bright unleſs it had been juridically aſperſed. In this country happily the factious and the envious have not a power of condemning by a ſhell which many of them cannot ſign." To theſe excellent obſervations it may be permitted to add, that when we reflect on the firm and undaunted ſtand made by the Houſe of Lords on this and other intereſting occaſions againſt the democratic fury of the Commons,

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to a government which willingly concealed even from itſelf the deſire of vengeance by which it was actuated, under the veil of loyalty and patriotiſm, now found or imagined the neceſſity of adopting a meaſure for the preſervation of the public ſafety, which has been ever conſidered as

Commons, we ſhall not be forward to applaud the wiſdom of thoſe by whom that Houſe was once voted, or of thoſe who are now ready to pronounce it, uſeleſs. That there ſhould exiſt one ſovereign will only in a ſtate, is certain; but the legiſlative body in which this will reſides may, by a juſt and wiſe organization, contain within itſelf a principle of vigorous colliſion and controul. But we have lately heard much from certain preſumptuous ſpeculatiſts on the ſcience of government, of the ridiculous folly and abſurdity of permitting, under a free conſtitution, any portion of hereditary authority—or, to adopt their own phraſeology, "hereditary nonſenſe," to exiſt, however limited or modified:—though it is remarkable, that previous to theſe recent diſcoveries in politics, wiſdom was ever accounted the grand characteriſtic feature of Ariſtocracy, as power of Monarchy, and public ſpirit of Democracy. And of the juſtneſs of this political axiom, not to appeal to antient times, the celebrated republics of Venice and Berne exhibit at this day ſtriking and obvious examples. Nor are the reaſons,—the permanent cauſes of this permanent effect,—difficult to develop: but at preſent, in politics, as at no very diſtant period in philoſophy, a pretended *common ſenſe*, made up of audacity of aſſertion, and inſolence of abuſe, is to ſuperſede all inductions of reaſon, knowledge, and experience. The harſhneſs of this cenſure muſt however be qualified with the acknowledgment that in the writings now alluded to are to be found many important and intereſting truths, expreſſed in language peculiarly ſtriking and energetic.

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the higheſt and moſt unconſtitutional exertion of parliamentary authority attempted ſince the æra of the Revolution; and if we except the Act of Henry VIII. declaring the proclamations of the Crown equal in validity to Acts of Parliament, and the Perpetuity Act of Charles I., it may not be too much to affirm, ſince the firſt exiſtence of Parliaments. This was no other than the introduction of the famous *Septennial Bill*, in the ſeſſion of 1716, by which the Parliament not only aſſumed a power of prolonging the duration of future Parliaments, but even its own; and being elected by the nation for three years, they elected themſelves for four years more. As the diſcretion veſted in Parliament has however no preciſe limits, no one has ventured formally or judicially to impeach the validity of this Act; and it has been truly urged in its favor, that it was in fact agreeable to the ſentiments of a great and reſpectable part of the nation, who had long ſeen and deplored the evils attending the frequent recurrence of parliamentary elections under the preſent miſerably corrupt, though long-eſtabliſhed, modes of election; and who were convinced of the danger which muſt eventually have ariſen from the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament at a juncture ſo critical. The Bill, which originated in the Houſe of Peers, was oppoſed with great ability by divers noblemen, and in particular by the Earl of Nottingham, who, diſguſted and provoked by the intemperate conduct of the adminiſtration,

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niſtration, had now quitted his connections with the Whigs. This nobleman obſerved, "that frequent Parliaments were of the eſſence of the Engliſh Conſtitution, and were ſanctioned by the practice of ages; that the Members of the Lower Houſe were delegated by the body of the nation for a certain term of years, at the expiration of which they were no longer the repreſentatives of the people; that by thus lengthening, at their own pleaſure, the duration of their own authority, they deprived the people of the only remedy which the wiſdom of our anceſtors had provided againſt the ignorance and corruption of thoſe who might be tempted to betray the truſt repoſed in them; that as to the pretence of adding energy or ſtability to the foreign tranſactions or projected alliances of Government, what prince or ſtate could rationally entruſt us with the care of their intereſts, when we appeared ſo ready to abandon our own? that the preamble of the Bill itſelf might ſuffice to deter them from entering into engagements with our Government, when they underſtood by it that the Popiſh and Jacobite faction was ſo powerful as to threaten deſtruction to the preſent eſtabliſhment; and that the Government acknowledged its weakneſs to be ſuch, as to make ſo extraordinary a proviſion neceſſary for its ſafety; when it appeared that the nation was not to be truſted, and that the affections of the King's ſubjects were reſtricted

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within the limits of the Houſe of Commons. He affirmed, that a long Parliament would encourage every ſpecies of corruption in every claſs of the community; that the value of a ſeat would bear a determinate proportion to the legal duration of Parliaments, and the purchaſe would riſe accordingly; that a long Parliament would both enhance the temptations, and multiply the opportunities, of a vicious miniſtry, to undermine the integrity and independency of Parliaments far beyond what could occur if they were ſhort and frequent; that the reaſons urged for prolonging the duration of this Parliament to ſeven years, would probably be as ſtrong, and, by perſeverance in the ſame impolitic conduct, might be made much ſtronger before the end of that term, for continuing and even perpetuating their legiſlative power."

When this Bill was tranſmitted to the Commons, it had to encounter an oppoſition ſtill more vehement and formidable. No ſooner was it announced to the Houſe, by two of the Judges ſent from the Peers, that their Lordſhips had paſſed a Bill for enlarging the time of the continuance of Parliaments, to which they deſired their concurrence, than Lord Guernſey moved to reject the Bill without reading it. The Houſe, however, determined by a great majority to receive it; and the Bill being a firſt and ſecond time read, Mr. Shippen aroſe to oppoſe the commitment of it. He commenced

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his obſervations with remarking, " that he too well knew the hazard attached to every unguarded expreſſion in that Houſe, to venture to ſay, that by any meaſures already taken—alluding to the late great augmentation of the land forces—we have paved the way to a deſpotic and military government. Such reflections, indeed, migh perhaps be pardoned from perſons without doors, who are not able to enter into the depth and wiſdom of our counſels, and who preſume to cenſure what they cannot comprehend. But the preſent Bill is yet unpaſſed, and we have as yet a right to inveſtigate its merits with freedom. It has been urged, that the diſaffection of the people is ſo great, and the enemies of the Government both at home and abroad ſo powerful, that a new election, at this period, may be deſtructive of its peace, and even of its ſafety. If this argument be applied to the Miniſtry, it is enough to reply, that it is no concern of ours, whether they have rendered themſelves odious to the people or not—They may be deſtroyed, and the Government ſubſiſt and flouriſh. But if it be applied to his Majeſty, no argument could be offered ſo injurious to his honor. How is it that, in the infancy of his reign, he hath deprived himſelf of the love and affection of a people who ſo lately received him with every expreſſion of joy? But, admitting the fact, is this the way to extinguiſh the diſcontents already exiſting, or will it not ra-

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ther increaſe and create freſh diſcontents? Agreeably to the law as it now ſtands, a diſſolution will not be neceſſary for a year and a half; and can national diſcontents be imagined to exiſt ſo long under ſo wiſe, ſo excellent, and ſo indulgent an adminiſtration as we now enjoy? Another reaſon for paſſing this Bill is, that it may encourage our antient allies to enter into new treaties, which, under the actual conſtitution of things, they may heſitate or refuſe to do. In order therefore to obtain the favor and friendſhip of thoſe nations in whoſe ſupport we have on ſo many occaſions laviſhed our treaſure and our blood, we muſt, it ſeems, alter the preſent frame of our conſtitution! What emotions of indignation muſt not the inſolence of this demand excite—eſpecially if it happen to be urged by a ſtate which owes its very being to England, and which continues to ſubſiſt as a ſovereign power by our aid and protection! Sir, His Majeſty, as King of Great Britain, is the arbiter of Europe, and may dictate to other nations, who will for their own ſakes court his friendſhip, and who have always found their account in the alliance of the crown which he now wears. The expence attending frequent elections has been alſo mentioned. But this is an argument which merits no attention. Every Gentleman is a judge of his own circumſtances, and knows how far they are competent to the neceſſary expences of an election; for

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for I will not ſuppoſe that the advocates of this Bill can mean to extend this argument to *corrupt expences*, when the incorrupt, unbiaſſed and conſtitutional mode in which the election of the preſent Parliament was conducted is ſo *notorious*. The manner in which this Bill has been introduced into the Houſe, is itſelf a ſufficient reaſon for its rejection. It is ſent from the LORDS; and as it relates merely to ourſelves, I apprehend it to be inconſiſtent with our honor to receive it. Our predeceſſors have ſhewn a determination to reſiſt all attempts to innovate on their privileges; and ſhall this glorious Houſe of Commons be content humbly to model themſelves at the pleaſure of the Lords? Shall we tamely and meanly acquieſce in an attack that ſtrikes at the very foundation of our authority? But however unlimited our complaiſance, I humbly conceive we have it not in our power to conſent to this Bill; for I cannot diſcover by what rule of reaſon or law we, who are only repreſentatives, can enlarge, to our own advantage, the authority delegated to us—or that by virtue of ſuch delegated authority we can deſtroy the fundamental rights of our Conſtitution. This Houſe has no legiſlative authority, but what it derives from the people. The members of this aſſembly were choſen under the Triennial Act. Our truſt is therefore a triennial truſt; and if we extend it beyond the ſtrict legal duration, we ceaſe from

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that inſtant to be the truſtees of the people, and are our own electors. From that inſtant, we act by an unwarrantable aſſumption of power, and take upon us to create a new conſtitution. For though it is a received maxim in civil ſcience, that the ſupreme legiſlature cannot be bound, yet an exception is neceſſarily implied, that it is reſtrained from ſubverting the foundation on which it ſtands. The Triennial Act, which reſtored the freedom and frequency of Parliaments, was a conceſſion made to the people by King William, in the midſt of his difficulties; and the policy of thoſe Miniſters who may adviſe his Majeſty to give his royal aſſent to the repealing of it, is of a nature too refined for my underſtanding. And as his Majeſty has been pleaſed to propoſe that Prince as a model to himſelf, and is emulous to imbibe his ſpirit and to equal his glory, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment to thoſe who are not in the ſecret of affairs, to ſee the ſalutary meaſures adopted on the moſt mature deliberation, with a view to the public good, in the reign of the former Monarch, ſo eagerly and raſhly reſcinded in the very commencement of that of the latter. There muſt certainly be ſome latent cauſe for the precipitation with which this Bill has been urged; there muſt be ſome ſecret meaſure in contemplation, which the miniſters of the Crown ſuſpect will not ſtand the teſt of a new Parliament. It muſt be ſomething, I repeat, hereafter to be done by them; for

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for I will do them the juſtice to believe, that for all the manifold miſchiefs that have been done, they feel entirely at their eaſe—perfectly callous to the emotions of ſenſibility or remorſe. A ſtanding Parliament, which it is the object of this Bill to eſtabliſh, has been ſaid to reſemble a ſtanding pool, the waters of which grow, for want of a freſh and free current, offenſive and fetid. But the preſent Parliament may more juſtly be compared to a torrent, which, in its furious and foaming courſe, deſolates the land, bearing down all the land-marks and antient mounds which have been raiſed to confine it within its regular and accuſtomed banks."

After a variety of able ſpeeches from the moſt diſtinguiſhed Members on both ſides of the Houſe, Sir Robert Raymond, afterwards Lord Raymond, and Chief Juſtice of England, concluded the debate with a comprehenſive reply to the arguments in favor of the Bill, and a maſterly recapitulation of the objections urged againſt it, of which the multifarious particulars that demand a place in general hiſtory will ſuffer only a conciſe and curſory mention. "The arguments for the Bill were, according to the enumeration of this able ſpeaker, I. The expences attending frequent elections; II. The diviſions and animoſities excited by them; III. The advantages to be derived by our enemies from theſe domeſtic feuds; IV. The encouragement which this Bill holds out to our allies to form with us more ſtrict and

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and permanent connections. As to the expences of election, they were, he acknowledged, of late years, moſt alarmingly increaſed, and were become very grievous and burdenſome. They have increaſed, however, not from the conteſts of neighboring gentlemen with each other, but from the intruſion of ſtrangers, who having no natural intereſt to ſupport them, and coming no one could tell from whence, have recourſe to the ſcandalous arts of bribery and corruption, which have impoſed a neceſſity upon gentlemen to enlarge their expences, in order to preſerve their antient and eſtabliſhed intereſts in their reſpective counties; and the impunity which the practice of bribery and corruption had too often met with in that Houſe, he was compelled to add, had greatly enhanced the evil. But would any one aſſert that ſeptennial Parliaments were competent to remedy this evil? Would they not rather increaſe it? For thoſe that will give money to obtain a ſeat in Parliament for three years, will give proportionably more for ſeven. No—not ſeptennial, but annual Parliaments are the true conſtitutional remedy for this grievance: this was our antient conſtitution, and every departure from it has been attended with inconvenience and injury. With reſpect to the animoſities and diviſions attending frequent elections, they are chiefly of a private nature, and little affect the public: ſuch as they are, however, this Bill is more calculated to

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to inflame than to extinguiſh them. But our moſt alarming and pernicious animoſities proceed certainly from a very different ſource—from the reſentment and ambition of ſome, from the folly and prejudice of others. That our enemies will take advantage of our diviſions whenever it is in their power cannot be doubted; but ſince the Triennial Act paſſed, ten ſucceſſive Parliaments have ſat, two long and bloody wars have been waged, our factions ran high, and our enemies were vigilant; yet no ſuch inconveniences were felt as are now apprehended or alleged: nor were any attempts made by them, as far as I have heard, to our prejudice during the temporary ferments of thoſe elections. The laſt argument is deduced from the encouragement this will give to your allies to enter into treaties with you. Sorry ſhould I be to ſuppoſe we had any allies who refuſed to treat with us becauſe we refuſed to relinquiſh our Conſtitution: were ſuch a requiſition to be made to them on our part, would it not be rejected on theirs with contempt and indignation? But the meaſure now propoſed is calculated not to ſtrengthen the hands of the executive power, but to leſſen its influence with foreign nations. Is it not to proclaim to the world that the King *dare* not call a new Parliament? that he *dare* not truſt the people in a new choice? And is not this a ſuppoſition diſhonorable alike to the Monarch and to the Parliament

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now exiſting? It preſumes that another Houſe of Commons would act differently from the preſent, which implies that this Houſe does not truly repreſent the people. Frequent Parliaments are coeval with the Conſtitution. In the reign of Edward III. it was enacted, that Parliaments ſhould be holden every year once, and oftener if need be. This muſt be underſtood of new Parliaments; for prorogations and long adjournments were not then known. Every long interruption of Parliaments has been attended with miſchief and inconvenience to the public: and in the Declaration of Rights at the Revolution it is aſſerted, as the undoubted right of the ſubject, that Parliaments ſhould be held frequently; and the preamble of the Bill, which we are now called upon to repeal, declares, 'that by the antient laws and ſtatutes of the realm frequent Parliaments ought to be held, and that frequent NEW Parliaments tend very much to the happy union and the good agreement of the King and his People.' Before this repeal takes place, I hope it will be ſhewn in what conſiſts the error of thoſe aſſertions. Would the King eſtabliſh his throne in the hearts of his people, this is the moſt ſure and effectual way: for ſuch frequent appeals to the people generate confidence, and confidence is a great advance towards agreement and affection. Will not the people ſay with reaſon, if this Bill ſhould paſs, that when the original term of delegation

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delegation is elapſed, you are no longer their repreſentatives? In my opinion, with great ſubmiſſion I ſpeak it, King, Lords, and Commons, can no more continue a Parliament beyond its natural duration than they can make a Parliament. The wiſeſt governments, it is well known, have ever been the moſt cautious in continuing thoſe perſons in authority to whom they have entruſted the ſupreme power. A ſtanding parliament and a ſtanding army are convertible, and fit inſtruments to ſupport each other's powers. For theſe reaſons, and becauſe no State neceſſity can be alleged or pretended for the paſſing of ſuch an Act, at a time when the preſent Parliament may be convened for two ſucceeding ſeſſions, I ſhall give my vote againſt the commitment of the Bill." On a diviſion, the queſtion of commitment was carried in the affirmative by a majority of 284 againſt 162 voices.

While this memorable Bill was pending in the Houſe, various petitions were preſented againſt it: one, in particular, from the Borough of Horſham, ſtating, 'that they looked upon this Bill as an overturning of the Conſtitution, and an infringement of their liberties,' gave ſuch offence, that the Houſe refuſed to receive it; and the general queſtion, *that this Bill do now paſs*, was carried in the affirmative by a triumphant majority of 264 votes againſt 121; and on the 26th of June 1716, it received the royal aſſent, the King expreſſing in his

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ſpeech the ſatisfaction he felt at the proſpect of a *ſettled Government*, ſupported by a Parliament which had ſhewn ſuch zeal for the proſperity of their country, and the Proteſtant intereſt of Europe. And his Majeſty now deeming himſelf in a ſtate of perfect ſecurity, and being, by an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, relieved from the diſagreeable embarraſſment of a clauſe in the Act of Settlement, reſtraining him from leaving the kingdom without the conſent of Parliament, determined to reviſit his dominions in Germany, the ſtate of affairs on the Continent demanding his moſt ſerious attention.—Louis XIV., King of France, had terminated his long career, in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, September 1, 1715. For more than half a century, this monarch had reigned the dread and envy of Europe, and at no period ſince the foundation of the monarchy had France diſplayed ſuch power or ſplendor. During the continuance of the feudal ſyſtem, the authority of the monarch and the collective force of the monarchy were reſtrained and diminiſhed by the independent authority veſted in the nobles. When the regal authority was at length fully reſtored, and eſtabliſhed, by the inſidious and profound policy of Louis XI., the power of France was for a ſeries of years eclipſed by the ſuperior greatneſs of the Houſe of Auſtria. But at the acceſſion of Louis XIV., the pride of that haughty family

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family had been ſignally humbled by the genius of Richelieu and the arms of Guſtavus. Thus, by the dangerous policy of the laſt century, France was left without a rival, and Louis XIV. ſoon ſhewed himſelf of a diſpoſition to improve and extend that ſuperiority to its utmoſt limits. Vain, unfeeling, unprincipled, haughty, ambitious, the ruling paſſion of his life was the thirſt of GLORY *. For this he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the repoſe of nations, and to deluge Europe in blood. A proſpect of the internal ſtate and condition of France under his government diſcovers an amazing contraſt of magnificence and wretchedneſs. In religion, a malignant and mercileſs bigot, he forced from their native homes, by the violence of his perſecution, myriads of the moſt induſtrious and virtuous of his ſubjects, the loſs of whom France yet feels and laments. From the impreſſion made, nevertheleſs, by the firſt rapid glances of Hiſtory, his character appears in a variety of dazzling and

* In a letter written by Louis to the Count D'Eſtrades, Ambaſſador at the Court of London, January 1662, he declares that the King of England, and his Miniſter Clarendon, do not as yet ſufficiently know him—that he aims at GLORY, preferable to any other conſideration—that all motives of intereſt are as nothing to him in compariſon of a point of honor—and that he ſhall always be ready to hazard all, rather than tarniſh that GLORY at which he aims, as the principal object of all his actions.

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impoſing points of view. He was poſſeſſed of ſtrong natural powers of mind, and of great perſonal accompliſhments. He was generous, affable, condeſcending, a munificent patron, and rewarder of merit. Under his reign, great characters were formed, great public works both of ornament and utility conſtructed. Science and the arts flouriſhed under his auſpices, and a new Auguſtan age appeared. He ſuſtained the adverſe fortune of his later years with firmneſs and magnanimity. His heart, ſoftened by diſtreſs, ſeemed at length to feel for the diſtreſſes of his people: and he acknowledged, when too late to rectify his error, that he had formed miſtaken opinions reſpecting that *glory* which he had been ſo anxiouſly ſolicitous to acquire. His death took place at a critical moment, and the projects formed in favor of the Houſe of Stuart, which were by its ableſt adherents, before that event, deemed "wild and uncertain," became, in conſequence of it, mad and deſperate. He was ſucceeded by Louis XV., an infant only five years of age, and the government of the kingdom was now veſted in the hands of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France. This Prince, who, in caſe of the death of the infant Monarch, had juſt pretenſions, founded on the arrangements of the treaty of Utrecht, to the throne of France, dreaded with reaſon, notwithſtanding the act of renunciation, the competition of the King of Spain. And the

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ſituation of the King of England, who had alſo the deſigns of a reſtleſs rival to oppoſe, being analogous to that of the Regent, they concluded with an emulation of eagerneſs—all political difficulties being previouſly obviated by the ability and addreſs of the Earl of Stair, now Ambaſſador at Paris—a treaty of friendſhip and alliance for their mutual aſſiſtance and ſupport, to which the States-General readily acceded. But in England, where diſtruſt and hatred of France were univerſally prevalent, it excited much murmur and ſurpriſe; nor would the nation eaſily be perſuaded to believe that the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in England could derive any additional ſecurity from the officious or inſidious guarantee of France. The affair, however, which principally engaged the King's ſolicitude at this period, and which forms, indeed, the grand key to almoſt all the numerous and intricate negotiations, conventions, and alliances of the preſent reign, was the recent ceſſion of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden by Denmark, who had conquered them from the Swedes; and for which Denmark was to receive a certain equivalent in money from Hanover. Excluſive, however, of this pretended equivalent, the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, undertook to guarantee to Denmark the Duchy of Sleſwic, conquered by that power from the Duke of Holſtein, the ally of Sweden; his Daniſh Ma-

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jeſty thus wiſely parting with one half of his conqueſts, in order to eſtabliſh a permanent property in the other. This whole tranſaction the King of Sweden regarded as a moſt flagrant injury and inſult. And little regarding, in the vehemence of his anger, the diſtinction ariſing from the twofold character ſuſtained by his adverſary, as King of England and Elector of Hanover, and well knowing that, in the mere capacity of Elector, he would not have ventured to gratify his ambition ſo much at the riſque of his ſafety, he directed all the efforts of his vengeance againſt the Engliſh nation, who appeared to him to countenance this uſurpation, and whom he therefore conſidered as his determined and mortal enemies. In the ſummer of the preceding year, 1715, Sir John Norris ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Baltic, for the protection of the national commerce, which had ſuffered extremely from the hoſtile reſentment of the Swedes. The King of Sweden was at this time deeply engaged in negotiations and intrigues with the Engliſh malcontents; and a project was formed for the invaſion of the kingdom, by that heroic and romantic monarch, at the head of a large body of forces, which would doubtleſs have been joined by great numbers of the diſaffected, who waited only a favorable moment for revolt. The King of England, who had received information from various quarters of this dangerous conſpiracy, on his

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his return from the Continent, January 1717, cauſed the Swediſh Ambaſſador Count Gyllenburg to be arreſted. At the ſame time, Baron Goertz, the Swediſh Reſident in Holland, was alſo, by an exceſs of complaiſance for which it would not be eaſy to find a precedent, arreſted at the requiſition of the King by order of the States: and in the papers of theſe two noblemen, which by a bold and irregular exertion of power were ſeized and ſearched, was found ample proof of their ſecret machinations. The foreign Miniſters were not a little alarmed at this extraordinary procedure. And the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, in particular, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and regret, that no other mode of preſerving the peace of the kingdom could be deviſed, than by arreſting the perſons of Ambaſſadors, and ſeizing their papers—the ſacred repoſitories of their maſters' ſecrets. The Secretary of State, Mr. Methuen, ſtated the urgent neceſſity which had impelled the King his maſter to adopt a meaſure ſo contrary to his inclinations: and Baron Goertz openly avowed the whole project of the invaſion, of which he acknowledged himſelf the author, and which he ſaid "was amply juſtified by the conduct of the King of Great Britain, who had joined the confederacy againſt the King of Sweden, without having received the leaſt provocation—who had aſſiſted the King of Denmark in ſubduing the

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Duchies of Bremen and Verden, and then purchaſed them of the uſurper—and who had, in the courſe of this very ſummer, ſent a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Ruſſians againſt the Swedes." The States of Holland not venturing to detain the Baron long in confinement, he proſecuted his deſigns with increaſe of zeal and earneſtneſs. Soon after the meeting of Parliament, February 1717, the King informed the Houſe of Commons, by a royal meſſage delivered by General Stanhope, of the danger which impended over the nation from the deſigns of Sweden, and demanded an extraordinary ſupply, to enable him to make good ſuch engagements as it might be neceſſary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert it. A ſupply of 250,000l. was accordingly voted, but by a perilous majority of *four voices* only, and not without vehement debate and oppoſition, chiefly in conſequence of an alarming diviſion in the adminiſtration, and the eventual ſeceſſion of various of its members, diſtinguiſhed equally by eminence of ſtation and ability—amongſt whom, Lord Townſhend, ſome time Secretary of State, and lately appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Walpole, who had ſucceeded the Earl of Haliſax as Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, appeared moſt conſpicuous. The leaders of the ſeceſſion, by the faint and languid ſupport which thoſe who took

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any part in the debate gave to this motion, and the obſtinate ſilence of the reſt, ſufficiently ſhewed their diſapproval of the conduct of the Court, which, for the ſake of an uſeleſs acquiſition of territory in Germany, ſcrupled not to involve Great Britain in an expenſive, dangerous, and deſtructive war. And it was now clearly perceived, though unfortunately at a period too late, that the ſeparation of the kingdom from the electorate ought to have conſtituted the baſis of the ſettlement of the Crown upon the Houſe of Hanover. The meſſage was declared, by Mr. Shippen, to be unparliamentary and unprecedented; penned, he ſuppoſed, by ſome foreigner, totally unacquainted with their accuſtomed forms of procedure, and their invariable uſage of granting money only on eſtimate, and for certain ſpecified ſervices. And he aſked, what glorious advantages were to be obtained for England, which made it neceſſary to incur this expence, and to encounter this danger? Mr. Hungerford ridiculed the idea of courting, and much more of purchaſing, foreign alliances; and ſaid, that a nation ſo lately the terror of France and Spain was ſurely able to defend itſelf in any cauſe, which called for national exertion, from the attack of ſo inconſiderable an enemy as Sweden. General Stanhope, in the warmth of debate, aſſerting, "that none could refuſe compliance with this meſſage, but ſuch as were not *the King's*

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friends;" much offence was taken at this expreſſion by many Members, far removed from the ſuſpicion of diſaffection: and Mr. Lawſon, Member for Cumberland, obſerved, "that he was ſurpriſed to hear ſuch unguarded expreſſions fall from ſo reſpectable a perſon; and that if every Member of the Houſe who uſed freedom of ſpeech muſt be accounted an enemy to the King whenever he happened to diſapprove of the meaſures of his Miniſters, he knew no ſervice they could render to their country in that Houſe, and it were better at once to retire to their country-ſeats, and leave the King and his Miniſters to act entirely at their diſcretion."

On the commitment of the Bill, Mr. Pulteney, who had now reſigned his office of Secretary at War, proteſted that he could not perſuade himſelf that any Engliſhman had dared to adviſe his Majeſty to ſend ſuch a meſſage; but he hoped that the Houſe would not be ſwayed by German counſels; and that ſuch reſolutions would be adopted as would make a German Miniſtry tremble *. It was again urged, that no occaſion did or could exiſt for entering into foreign alliances with a view of

* Lord Townſhend was diſmiſſed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the evening of the day (April 9, 1717) on which the firſt debate and diviſion on this motion had taken place. And Mr. Walpole, Mr. Methuen Secretary of State, and Mr. Pulteney, delivered in their reſignations the next morning. Lord Cowper alſo relinquiſhed the Great Seal, and was ſucceeded by the Earl of Macclesfield.

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defending Great Britain from this danger; that we had an army and a fleet far ſuperior to any force that Sweden could in her preſent ſtate bring into action againſt us; that we were in actual alliance with France, from whoſe former connection with Sweden apprehenſions might otherwiſe have been entertained. But if the Court perſiſted in aſſerting the neceſſity of new and foreign engagements againſt Sweden, it was doubtleſs requiſite to ſtate, ſince no one could pretend to conjecture, what thoſe engagements were. And the Speaker, who took part in the debate, declared, that no additional burdens on the public appeared at this time neceſſary. It was his opinion, therefore, that if the ſum now demanded were expended for our ſafety abroad, ſuch proportion of the national troops as equalled the amount of the expenditure ought to be diſbanded at home.—Lord Finch, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Nottingham, reprobated in ſtrong terms this novel ſyſtem of politics. It appeared, as he alſo ſaid, from the memorial recently preſented by the Ruſſian Miniſter, and by the anſwer which had been returned to the ſame, that ſuch meaſures were purſued as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the Czar. To which General Stanhope replied, " that as for the inſtances which his Majeſty has cauſed to be made with the Czar, and the meaſures he may have concerted to get the Ruſſian troops out of

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the Duchy of Mecklenburg, his Majeſty has acted in all this as Elector and Prince of the Empire; and he was perſuaded all the gentlemen here would agree with him, that the King's dignity, as King of Great Britain, was never underſtood to tie up his hands with reſpect to his intereſts in Germany, and as Prince of the Empire *." The fact itſelf nevertheleſs remained indiſputable, that the Germanic politics of the King had embroiled the kingdom of Great Britain in a dangerous conteſt, not only with Sweden but Ruſſia; for the Czar, paſſionately reſenting the conduct of King George, who vehemently oppoſed his favorite and invidious project of a ſettlement in Germany as a Prince of

* Early in the month of March 1717, the Miniſter of the Czar preſented a memorial to the Court of London, ſetting forth the ſolicitude of the Czar to conclude a treaty of amity with his Majeſty, and to guarantee the Hanover ſucceſſion; and ſays, "And it was not the fault of his Czariſh Majeſty that the ſaid negotiation was not brought to a happy concluſion. Although his Czariſh Majeſty has lately obſerved, that ſeveral contrary ſteps have been taken by your Majeſty's Miniſters in many foreign Courts, particularly at the Court of Vienna and thoſe of Denmark and Pruſſia, as well as at the Diet of Ratiſbon, though his Czariſh Majeſty had given no cauſe for ſuch meaſures, notwithſtanding that he had ſufficient reaſons to be upon his guard, and to provide for his own ſecurity, conſidering the general reports and the particular advices he had had from many places that your Majeſty is negotiating a ſeparate peace with Sweden, in which

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of the Empire, and being at open variance with the King reſpecting the affairs of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which in the view of his Britannic Majeſty were inferior in importance only to thoſe of Bremen and Verden, now haſtily acceded to the preliminaries of a convention, which a ſhort time would probably have ripened into a definitive peace, through the dextrous intervention of Baron Goertz, with his inveterate rival the King of Sweden, with whom he had been near twenty years at war; and aſſented to the project of elevating the Pretender to the throne of Great Britain. But the good fortune of the King of England, which throughout the whole courſe of his life was ever remarkable, delivered him from all appre-

which you promiſe your aſſiſtance againſt his Czariſh Majeſty upon the condition of the ceſſion of Bremen and Verden, as it plainly appears by the letters lately publiſhed by the Swediſh Miniſter." An anſwer was delivered to this memorial, dated April 2, 1717, which ſays, "As to the complaints contained in that memorial of the ſteps which his Majeſty may have taken at ſeveral Courts in Germany with regard to the Ruſſian troops in the Empire; granting it to be true, that the Britiſh Miniſters had acted with vigor at the ſaid Courts, in order to procure the evacuation of the ſaid troops, his Czariſh Majeſty ought not to be in the leaſt ſurpriſed at it, conſidering the ſtrict union which has ſo long ſubſiſted between Great Britain, the Emperor, and the Empire, which union has been confirmed and ſtrengthened the laſt year by a new treaty of alliance and guarantee between the Emperor and the King."

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henſions, by the death of the King of Sweden, who was killed by a cannon-ball in the trenches before the fortreſs of Frederickſhall in Norway, November 30, 1718, O. S. an event which produced great political convulſions in Sweden, in the firſt ſhock of which Baron Goertz loſt his head on the ſcaffold. This monarch was one of the moſt remarkable characters which the preſent or indeed any age has produced. Attacked in early youth, without pretence or provocation, by an ambitious and unprincipled confederacy of kings, he defended himſelf with heroic valor and glorious ſucceſs. But, intoxicated by a long and uninterrupted courſe of proſperity, inflamed with an eager deſire of revenge, and indulging wild and extravagant ideas of conqueſt, he refuſed with diſdain all terms of accommodation, and at length experienced a fatal reverſe of fortune, the calamitous conſequences of which Sweden ſtill moſt ſenſibly feels. Nevertheleſs the memory of this romantic monarch is held in high veneration by the Swedes, who yet celebrate the anniverſary of his birth with an enthuſiaſm due only to that of the great reſtorer of Swediſh liberty and independency, the illuſtrious GUSTAVUS VASA—a name profaned and inſulted by this commemoration: for a tyranny more oppreſſive than that of Charles XII. was never exerciſed, nor a ſubmiſſion more abject

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ever exacted by any monarch from any people *. The Czar, in conſequence of this unexpected event, thought it prudent to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of his hoſtile deſigns; and Bremen and Verden were left in the poſſeſſion of Hanover, though the inveſtiture of thoſe Duchies by the Emperor was ſtill wanting to complete the validity of the purchaſe. This, therefore, now became the grand object of the attention and ſolicitude of the Engliſh Court; and as the Emperor, notwithſtanding the recent renewal of treaties, affected delay and reluctance to comply with the eager applications of the Engliſh Monarch, means were to

* The following portrait of this extraordinary man, drawn by the pen of genius, cannot but prove intereſting and acceptable:

On what foundation ſtands the warrior's pride,
How juſt his hopes, let Swediſh CHARLES decide:
A frame of adamant, a ſoul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labors tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleaſure and of pain.
No joys to him pacific ſceptres yield:
War ſounds the trump—he ruſhes to the field;
Behold ſurrounding kings their force combine,
And one capitulate, and one reſign.
Peace courts his hand, but ſpreads her charms in vain.
"Think nothing gain'd," he cries, "till nought remain,
On Moſcow's walls till Gothic ſtandards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar ſky!"

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to be deviſed to obviate his objections, or at leaſt to convince his Imperial Majeſty how much it concerned the intereſts of the Court of Vienna not to inſiſt too ſtrongly or pertinaciouſly on them. By the treaty of Utrecht the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia were ceded to the Houſe of Auſtria, together with Milan and the Low Countries; and the Iſland of Sicily, with the title of King, to the Duke of Savoy. The pride of Spain was, however, deeply wounded by this forcible diſmemberment of her monarchy, though the experience of almoſt a century had ſhewn how little acceſſion of ſtrength

The march begins in military ſtate,
And nations on his eye ſuſpended wait;
Stern Famine guards the ſolitary coaſt,
And Winter barricades the realm of froſt.
He comes—not want or cold his courſe delay;
Hide, bluſhing Glory! hide Pultowa's day.
The vanquiſh'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And ſhews his miſeries in diſtant lands;
Condemn'd a needy ſupplicant to wait,
While ladies interpoſe and ſlaves debate.
—But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no ſubverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hoſtile millions preſs him to the ground?
His fall was deſtin'd to a barren ſtrand,
A petty fortreſs, and a dubious hand:
He left that name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale.

JOHNSON's Im. of Juv. Sat. 10.

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the really derived from the poſſeſſion of theſe detached and remote provinces, or rather how great an increaſe of weakneſs. Cardinal Alberoni, Prime Miniſter of Philip V., a man of a lofty and aſpiring genius, which delighted to form bold and dangerous projects, at this time entertained the chimerical hope of re-uniting to the monarchy of Spain the kingdoms and provinces of which ſhe had been diveſted. Andthe Emperor being actually engaged in a war with Turkey*, the Cardinal embraced the opportunity to equip a formidable armament, which ſailed from Barcelona July 1717, and landing at Cagliari, the capital of Sardinia, ſoon made an entire conqueſt of the iſland; pretending, as a reaſon for this invaſion, the previous violation of the moſt poſitive engagements on the part of the Emperor, or, to adopt the haughty language of the Court of Madrid, of the ARCH-DUKE†. The Emperor

* In this war the Imperial arms, under the auſpicious conduct of Prince Eugene, triumphed glorioufly over the Ottoman power. Servia and Croatia were added to the Auſtrian dominions; and "the Turkiſh moons wandered in diſarray" over the impurpled fields of Peterwaradin and Belgrade.

† It muſt be remarked, that no definitive treaty had taken place between Spain and the Emperor ſince the war of the ſucceſſion, nor had the reſpective titles of theſe rival potentates been as yet reciprocally and formally acknowledged. "Greatneſs of ſoul," (ſays the Marquis de Grimaldi in his circular letter addreſſed to the Miniſters of the ſeveral foreign Courts) made his Majeſty bear the

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peror loudly complaining of this hoſtile, and, as he termed it, ſacrilegious attack, while his armies were combating the common enemy of the Chriſtian faith; and the King of Spain profeſſing a willingneſs to ſubmit the juſtice of his quarrel to equitable arbitration, the King of England and the Regent of France, in concert with the States-General, undertook the accommodation of theſe differences. And conferences being opened with the Court of Vienna, the famous QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE

the diſmemberment of his dominions, which the plenipotentiaries would ſacrifice to the tranquillity of Europe. After which he perſuaded himſelf, that theſe ſtipulated ſacrifices would at leaſt have ſecured to him the reſt of this nation as glorious as afflicted. But no ſooner had he complied with the ſurrender of Sicily, in favor of the repoſe of Spain, upon the condition of the evacuation of Catalonia and the iſland of Majorca, than he found that the orders received for that purpoſe were concealed; and when at laſt it came to the knowledge of his allies, it was pretended that the treaty ſhould be executed, by virtue whereof his Majeſty demanded the evacuation of the places. Nothing was more eaſy for that purpoſe than for the garriſons of the *Arch-duke* to have ſurrendered to the King's troops the gates of the places they poſſeſſed, in the ſame manner as was reciprocally practiſed among the potentates of Europe. But quite on the contrary, the Generals of the *Arch-duke*, violating the public faith of treaties and the reciprocal engagements, abandoned the places to the Catalans, making them, at the ſame time, believe that they would ſoon return; and thereby fomented their diſquiet and rebellious ſpirit, ſo far as to induce them to think of a furious and obſtinate reſiſtance."

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was at length concluded, by which it was determined that Sardinia, now actually in the poſſeſſion of Spain, ſhould be transferred to the Houſe of Savoy; and Sicily, a far more valuable poſſeſſion, ceded in exchange to the Emperor. The claims of Spain were altogether diſregarded; only it was ſtipulated that the ſucceſſion to the Duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, claimed by the Queen of Spain as heireſs of the Houſes of Medicis and Farneſe, ſhould devolve upon her eldeſt ſon in caſe of a failure of male iſſue: and three months only were allowed to the parties intereſted in theſe ceſſions to declare their acceptance or rejection*. Spain, as may be imagined, was little diſpoſed to

* Although the Regent of France, from his eager deſire to ſecure the friendſhip of England, and from perſonal animoſity to the King of Spain, entered entirely into the views of the Engliſh Monarch upon this occaſion, he retained at the bottom all the Bourbon prejudices againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. The principal obſtacle to the alliance concluded in 1716 between the two kingdoms, was the unwillingneſs of the Regent to aſſent to the expulſion of the Swedes, the antient enemies of that Houſe, from Germany. "I have," ſays the Ambaſſador, Lord Stair, in a diſpatch addreſſed to Secretary Craggs, "all along endeavored to perſuade the Regent that, in the preſent ſtate of the kingdom of Sweden, it can be of no great uſe to France that that Crown ſhould preſerve a foot in the Empire; and that the true and ſolid balance againſt the Emperor, and for preſerving the liberty of Germany, muſt be by making a cloſe conjunction among the Princes of the north of Germany. This

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to acquieſce in this ſettlement. And the propoſitions of General Stanhope, the Engliſh Secretary of State, who was himſelf inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of Madrid on this occaſion, were refuſed with diſdain. A ſtill more formidable armament than the former was now fitted out by the indefatigable exertions of the Cardinal, deſtined for the invaſion

thought, in general, pleaſes the Regent very well; but he does by no means like the particular part of it, to deprive the Crown of Sweden of their dominions in Germany." When affairs, after this, took a different turn; when jealouſies and diſſenſions aroſe between the Emperor and the King of England, and hopes were entertained that England might be effectually detached from the Auſtrian intereſt; the Court of Verſailles entered with more ſincerity, and even with apparent eagerneſs, into the projects of Hanoverian aggrandizement; ſenſible that the ſacrifice made by France was trivial in compariſon of the advantage gained. Lord Stair, at this period, had the generoſity zealouſly to intercede with the Court of London for the pardon of the Earl of Mar. After being, however, a conſiderable time amuſed with the hope of obtaining it, he met with a final and harſh repulſe. "Lord Mar," ſays the Ambaſſador to Mr. Craggs, "is *outré* at the uſage he has met with. He ſays, our Miniſtry may be great and able men, but that they are not ſkilful in making proſelytes, or keeping friends when they have them. I am pretty much of his mind. He was certainly determined to leave the Pretender's intereſt. He is now full of reſentment, and in moſt violent agitations." How ſtriking the contraſt between the policy of the Engliſh Court in this reign, and that of Henry IV. of France, after his triumphs over the faction of the League! But every King is not a hero.

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of Sicily; his Sicilian Majeſty having concerted his own meaſures by a ſeparate negotiation with the Court of Vienna; wiſely reſolving to ſubmit to terms, however diſadvantageous, which he found himſelf unable to oppoſe with effect. The Spaniards having landed their forces, conſiſting of 30,000 men, flattered themſelves with the ſpeedy reduction of this rich and beautiful iſland. But the King of England, in order to counteract the deſigns of Spain, had, with the concurrence of Parliament, though England had no imaginable motive to interfere in theſe diſtant ſcenes of contention, cauſed a formidable fleet to ſail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, with peremptory orders to attack the Spaniſh fleet if engaged in any hoſtile enterpriſe againſt Naples or Sicily. The Britiſh Admiral, on his arrival off Cadiz, tranſmitted by his Secretary a copy of his inſtructions to the Cardinal, who peruſed them with great emotion, and after ſome deliberation returned for anſwer, "that the Chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the King his maſter *." The Admiral proceeding,

* The inſtructions of the Admiral were as follows—"You are to make inſtances with both parties to ceaſe from uſing any farther acts of hoſtility; but in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill inſiſt with their ſhips of war and forces to attack the kingdom of Naples, or other the territories of the Emperor in Italy, or to

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ceeding, therefore, on his voyage, caſt anchor with his whole fleet in the Bay of Naples, where the magnificence of the ſpectacle drew immenſe multitudes of people to the ſurrounding ſhores, which reſounded with loud acclamations.

On receiving intelligence from Count Daun, the Viceroy, that Meſſina, the capital of Sicily, was reduced to the laſt extremity; he again weighed anchor, and on the 9th of Auguſt 1718 he came in ſight of the Faro of Meſſina, and diſpatched his own captain with a meſſage to the Marquis de Lede, commander of the Spaniſh forces, propoſing a ceſſation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have opportunity to con-

land in any part of Italy, which can only be with a deſign to invade the Emperor's dominions, againſt whom only they have declared war by invading Sardinia; or if they ſhould endeavor to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily, which muſt be with a deſign to invade the kingdom of Naples; in ſuch caſe you are with all your power to hinder and obſtruct the ſame. If it ſhould ſo happen, that at your arrival with our fleet under your command in the Mediterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavor amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in ſuch an attempt; and offer them your aſſiſtance to help them to withdraw their troops and put an end to all farther acts of hoſtility. But in caſe theſe your friendly endeavors ſhould prove ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with or intercepting their ſhips or convoys, or, if it be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any farther attempt."

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cert meaſures for reſtoring a laſting peace; declaring, at the ſame time, that ſhould this propoſal be rejected, he ſhould, in purſuance of his inſtructions, uſe all his force to prevent farther attempts to diſturb the dominions the King his maſter had engaged to defend. The Spaniſh General anſwered, "that he had no power to treat of an armiſtice, but ſhould obey his orders, which were, to reduce Sicily to the dominion of his maſter the King of Spain." On the 11th of Auguſt the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, was deſcried off the coaſt of Calabria, lying-to in the order of battle; and though on the approach of the Britiſh ſquadron they bore away apparently with the view of maintaining a running fight, the ſuperior manœuvres of the Engliſh commander ſoon brought on a cloſe action, which before ſunſet terminated in the almoſt total deſtruction of the Spaniſh fleet; Don Caſtanita the commander in chief, and three other Admirals, being captured. Captain Walton being detached by Sir George Byng, with five ſhips of the line, in purſuit of a diviſion of the Spaniards much ſuperior in force, acquainted the Engliſh Admiral with the event of his undertaking, in the following memorable letter:—"Sir, We have deſtroyed all the Spaniſh ſhips and veſſels which were upon the coaſt, the number as per margin." Upon inſpecting the margin of this laconic epiſtle, no leſs than

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thirteen ſhips of war of different deſcriptions were found compriſed in it. It is ſaid that Rear-admiral Cammock, a native of Ireland, who commanded one of the diviſions of the Spaniſh fleet, propoſed to the Commander in Chief to remain in the Road of Paradiſe, where the coaſt is bold and the anchorage good, with their broadſides towards the ſea, in order of battle: a poſition in which the Britiſh fleet might have been greatly annoyed from the batteries erected on ſhore; and the various and rapid currents would have prevented a cloſe and regular approach. But the evil genius of Spain predominated, and this propoſal was rejected. In reward of this great victory, Sir George Byng was raiſed to the dignity of the peerage by the ſtyle and title of Viſcount Torrington, and received other diſtinguiſhed marks of the royal favor. But the Court of Madrid exclaimed in the moſt paſſionate language againſt the conduct of England, as contrary to the law of nations, and a flagrant violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements; and orders were iſſued at all the ports of Spain and the Indies, for making repriſals upon the Engliſh; in conſequence of which, war was formally declared by England againſt Spain, which was ſoon followed by a like declaration on the part of the Regent of France.

Theſe tranſactions, however, did not paſs abroad without ſevere notice and animadverſion at home. In

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In the ſeſſion of Parliament which commenced Nov. 1717, the King had in his ſpeech aſſured the two Houſes that his endeavors to preſerve the public tranquillity had not been unſucceſsful; and that he had reaſon to believe they would in the end produce their full effect. A conſiderable reduction of the army was in conſequence propoſed on the part of the Miniſters, who contented themſelves with moving for 18,000 men only for the ſervice of the enſuing year. Even this force was deemed by the Oppoſition very unneceſſary, and an effort was in vain made to limit the number to 12,000. Mr. Walpole, in particular, declaimed with much energy on the danger of a ſtanding army in a free country; and he affirmed, that though a conſiderable proportion of the privates had been diſbanded, the officers had been retained; and the ſoldiers wanting to complete the ſeveral companies and regiments might be raiſed with beat of drum in twice twenty-four hours; ſo that a force double to what was intended by Parliament was virtually veſted in the Crown. And Mr. Shippen, in the courſe of a very able ſpeech, declared the expence attending the army to be the ſmalleſt objection to it. The chief argument againſt it was, that the civil and military power would not long ſubſiſt together. Far from being neceſſary to our protection, he apprehended ſo great a force to be inconſiſtent with our ſafety. I certain circum-

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ſtances an army might be neceſſary, but in ſuch circumſtances it was only to be choſen as the leſſer evil; for that, abſtractedly conſidered, it was an evil, every lover of liberty muſt acknowledge. "I know (ſaid this inflexible patriot) that theſe aſſertions interfere with ſome paragraphs of his Majeſty's ſpeech. But we are to conſider that ſpeech as the compoſition of the miniſters and adviſers of the Crown, and we are therefore at liberty to controvert every propoſition in it, *particularly thoſe which ſeem calculated rather for the* MERIDIAN *of* GERMANY *than of* GREAT BRITAIN. *But it is the infelicity of his Majeſty's reign, that he is unacquainted with our language and* CONSTITUTION; and it is therefore the more incumbent upon his Britiſh Miniſters to inform him, that our government does not ſtand upon the ſame foundation with that which is eſtabliſhed in his German dominions. If we recur to the hiſtory of Europe, we ſhall find that the nations once free have loſt their liberties by allowing, on ſome plauſible pretence of exigence, their Princes to maintain an armed force during peace. They perceived, too late, that they had erected a power ſuperior to themſelves, and they now wear the chains which they forged for their own necks. The conſent of Parliament is indeed alleged in favor of the army entruſted to the Crown in this country. But the conſent of Parliament cannot alter the nature of things,

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things, or prevent the ſame cauſes from producing the ſame effects. No art can diſguiſe from an army, however denominated, the knowledge of its own ſtrength; and the experience of the laſt century has taught us, that a Parliament army may give as deep a wound to the conſtitution as an army of the Crown. So long as the army, therefore, is continued, ſo long is the conſtitution ſuſpended; ſo long is it at the mercy of thoſe who command it."—During this ſpeech, Mr. Lechmere had taken down in writing thoſe marked expreſſions which ſeemed pointed not ſo much againſt the Miniſters as the King: and when Mr. Shippen had ſat down, Mr. Lechmere immediately roſe, and ſtated to the Houſe that theſe words were a ſcandalous invective againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government—ſuch as merited the higheſt reſentment of that Houſe; and he therefore moved, that the Member who had ſpoken them be committed to the Tower. This motion was immediately ſeconded by Mr. Spencer Cowper, ſupported by Sir Joſeph Jekyl and various others; on which Mr. Walpole deſired that the Member might be permitted to explain theſe raſh words, ſpoken in the heat of debate. But Mr. Shippen declared that he deſired no ſuch indulgence, and that the words needed neither explanation nor apology. The Houſe in a flame immediately reſolved that the Chairman leave the chair; and the Speaker reſuming

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reſuming his place, Mr. Farrer, Member for Bedford, reported from the Committee the words ſpoken by Mr. Shippen; upon which Mr. Shippen withdrew. And the queſtion being put, "that the words ſpoken by William Shippen, Eſq. a Member of this Houſe, are highly diſhonorable to, and unjuſtly reflecting on, his Majeſty's perſon and government," it was carried in the affirmative by 175 voices againſt 81, and the Speaker was ordered to iſſue his warrant for the immediate commitment of Mr. Shippen to the Tower.

The ſeſſion cloſed in March; a few days previous to which, the King by a royal meſſage informed the Houſe "that he had reaſon to judge from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be neceſſary;" and an addreſs was moved and preſented, aſſuring his Majeſty, "that the Houſe would make good ſuch exceedings as his Majeſty in his royal wiſdom ſhould deem neceſſary for the purpoſe of giving effect to his unwearied endeavors to preſerve *the peace of Europe.*" No diviſion on this motion took place—Mr. Walpole alone obſerving, "that this *pacific addreſs* had violently the air of a DECLARATION OF WAR." The Parliament again meeting Nov. 1718, the King, in his ſpeech, declared that the Court of Spain had rejected all his amicable propoſals, and had broke through their moſt ſolemn engagements for the ſecurity of the Britiſh commerce.

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merce. To vindicate therefore the faith of his former treaties, as well as to maintain thoſe he had lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of his ſubjects, which had been violently and unjuſtly oppreſſed, it became neceſſary for his naval forces to check their progreſs; that notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of his arms, that Court had lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and the Weſt-Indies, to fit out privateers againſt the Engliſh. He ſaid, that he was perſuaded a Britiſh Parliament would enable him to reſent ſuch treatment; and he aſſured them that his good brother the Regent of France was ready to concur with him in the moſt vigorous meaſures. An addreſs of thanks and congratulation being propoſed, it was forcibly urged, that ſuch addreſs might be attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, as ſtamping with the ſanction of Parliament, meaſures which, upon examination, might appear equally contrary to the law of nations and the intereſts of Great Britain. And it was moved in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Strafford, that the inſtructions of Admiral Byng might be laid before the Houſe. General (now created Earl) Stanhope replied, that there was no occaſion to ſubmit the Admiral's inſtructions to public diſcuſſion, as the treaties, of which the late ſea-fight was a neceſſary conſequence, had already received the approbation of Parliament. He accuſed the Court of

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of Spain of a violation of the treaty of Utrecht and of public faith, in attacking the Emperor while he was engaged in a war againſt the common enemies of Chriſtendom. He added likewiſe, that it was high time to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order effectually to protect the Britiſh commerce, which had been violently oppreſſed by the Spaniards. In the Lower Houſe, Mr. Walpole declaimed with much vehemence and energy againſt the late meaſures; and affirmed, that to ſanction them by the propoſed Addreſs would anſwer no other purpoſe than to ſcreen from puniſhment the Miniſters of the Crown, who had dared to plunge the nation into a war with Spain, of which they now wiſhed to relieve themſelves from the reſponſibility. He declared that, inſtead of the entire *ſatisfaction* which they were called upon to expreſs, he would ſubſtitute an entire *diſſatisfaction*; for the conduct of the Adminiſtration had been both faithleſs and pernicious. And on a ſubſequent reſumption of the queſtion, Mr. Shippen, with unbroken ſpirit, obſerved, "that there exiſted no neceſſity for involving this nation in a war, on account of any mercantile grievances, as there was every reaſon to believe they might be amicably redreſſed; and added, *that the war ſeemed to be calculated for another* MERIDIAN." The expreſſion, though amounting to a ſort of defiance, paſſed unnoticed; and Mr.

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Mr. Methuen, who had recently reſigned the Seals, accounted and apologized for the dilatorineſs of the Court of Spain, in reſpect to the mercantile grievances complained of, from the multiplicity and diverſity of regulations which prevailed in the ſeveral provinces and ports of that kingdom*. An expreſſion in the anſwer of the Engliſh Court to a memorial of the Marquis de Monteleone, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, was animadverted upon as very extraordinary—it being therein ſtated, "That his Majeſty the King of Great Britain did not ſeek to aggrandize himſelf by any new acquiſition, but was rather inclined to ſacrifice ſomething of his own to procure the general quiet and tranquillity of Europe." This was ſaid to be a very uncommon ſtretch of condeſcenſion. The King of Spain was to be tempted by an offer from England—which offer was ſuſpected to be the ceſſion of Gibraltar, or Minorca—to accede to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, by which nothing was gained by England, and the great object of which was plainly the ſecurity of the King's German acquiſitions, and the aggrandizement of Hanover. The addreſs however was at length carried; but the Commons thought proper to vote no more

* Mr. Methuen, afterwards Sir Paul Methuen, had reſided ſeveral years in the quality of Ambaſſador at the Court of Liſbon, where he negotiated the famous treaty with Portugal known by the name of the METHUEN TREATY.

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than 26,000 men for the entire amount of the ſea and land ſervice of the year.

Wholly actuated by the blind and furious ſpirit of revenge, Cardinal Alberoni had by this time formed a raſh and romantic project for the elevation of the Pretender, now received and acknowledged as King of England at Madrid, to the throne of Great Britain. And a new armament was equipped at Cadiz, on board of which 6000 regular troops, with arms for a much larger number, were embarked under the command of the Duke of Ormond. Scarcely, however, had they reached Cape Finiſterre, but they were diſperſed and ſhattered by a violent tempeſt, which totally diſabled them from proſecuting their voyage. Two frigates only, with the Earls Mareſchal and Seaforth and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with 300 Spaniſh ſoldiers on board, arrived in Scotland, where they were joined by ſome clans of Highlanders. But on the approach of the King's forces the Highlanders, after a vain though vigorous attempt to defend the paſs of Glenſhiel, diſperſed, and the Spaniards ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. Meantime the efforts of the Engliſh arms abroad were attended with brilliant ſucceſs. In conſequence chiefly of the able and unintermitted exertions of Sir George Byng, and the powerful aſſiſtance which the Imperialiſts derived from the Britiſh fleet, the Spaniards were reduced to the humiliating

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miliating neceſſity of evacuating the iſland of Sicily and Sardinia. For though the Marquis de Lede, notwithſtanding the deciſive victory obtained by Sir George Byng, had compelled the city of Meſſina to ſurrender, the Spaniſh army was effectually precluded, by the vigilance of the Britiſh Admiral, from receiving any reinforcements or ſupplies by ſea. And on the other hand, a numerous body of Imperialiſts, commanded by the Count de Merci, was landed on the iſland under convoy of the Britiſh fleet; by the vigorous co-operation of which the city of Meſſina was recovered. On the approach of ſpring, Palermo was inveſted, the Count de Merci marching acroſs the mountains, while the Britiſh fleet coaſted along the ſhore. The Marquis de Lede, who had retreated under the cannon of Palermo, now prepared to give battle to the Imperialiſts, although in his circumſtances a defeat muſt have proved fatal; when a felucca arrived with diſpatches from the Court of Madrid, empowering the Marquis to ſign a convention, by which Spain agreed to relinquiſh her pretenſions to Sicily; and the ſhattered remains of her troops were immediately embarked at Tauromini for Barcelona. Such was the juſt confidence placed by the King of England in the zeal and ability of the gallant officer inveſted with the high and arduous commiſſion thus proſperouſly terminated, that in reply to an application for inſtructions, his Majeſty declared "he would ſend

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ſend him none, for that he well knew how to act without any." And the uniform ſucceſs attending all his enterpriſes, vulgarly aſcribed to fortune, a more juſt and accurate diſcernment, tracing the concatenation of events, perceived to be the natural conſequence of the wiſdom and vigor with which his meaſures were invariably planned and executed. During theſe tranſactions in Sicily, Lord Cobham, with a conſiderable force, made a deſcent on Spain and took Vigo. Preparations alſo were making for an expedition againſt Spaniſh America; and an army of French, which had penetrated into Spain, under the Duke of Berwick, reduced the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian. So that the Court of Madrid found itſelf attacked on all ſides, its ſchemes completely diſconcerted, and no reſource left but to accede, however reluctantly, to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance—the remaining differences between the Emperor and the King of Spain being referred to a congreſs at Cambray, which, however, after a very long and tedious diſcuſſion, was at laſt diſſolved without coming to any terms of agreement. A treaty of peace was now likewiſe concluded (November 1719), through the mediation of France, by the King of England, with Ulrica Queen of Sweden, ſiſter and ſucceſſor to Charles XII.; by which Bremen and Verden were ſecured to Hanover at the expence of a million of rix-dollars—a far more

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conſiderable ſum than the revenues of that Electorate were generally deemed competent to diſcharge. This peace, entitled a peace between Sweden and Great Britain, was negotiated and ſigned by a Hanoverian Miniſter, one Adolph-Frederic Van Baſſawitz, who had the preſumption to engage, "in the name of his Britannic Majeſty, both as King and Elector, immediately to renew the antient alliances and friendſhips, &c. &c. as alſo *the guaranties upon the foundation of the treaty of peace concluded amongſt the allies of the North, or which may be concluded or applied to the profit of the Ducal Houſe of Holſtein Gottorp*"—or, in plain terms, he undertakes to guarantee Sleſwic to Denmark, Bremen and Verden to Hanover, and the eventual equivalent for Sleſwic to the Duke of Holſtein. Early in the following year (1720) a treaty of alliance was concluded between the Crowns of Great Britain and Sweden, by which his Britannic Majeſty ſtipulated not only to furniſh the powerful ſuccors therein ſpecified, but to engage his friends and allies to contribute by ſubſidies and auxiliary troops "*ad coercendum Czarum Ruſſiæ*"—the expreſs words of the treaty. In both theſe treaties the loſſes ſuſtained by the Engliſh commerce in conſequence of the depredations of the Swedes, which formed the only plauſible pretext for involving Britain in this quarrel, were paſſed over unnoticed. And while the petition

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from the merchants was lying neglected and forgotten on the table of the House of Commons, the sum of 72,000l., in consequence of a message from his Majesty, was voted as a subsidy to Sweden. After all the indefatigable exertions and expensive sacrifices of the King of England to procure from the Court of Stockholm the absolute cession of Bremen and Verden, and which was at length so happily and unexpectedly accomplished, the investiture of those Duchies, of which he had been so long and eager an expectant, notwithstanding the mighty services rendered to the House of Austria, was not yet obtainable from the gratitude or condescension of the Court of Vienna. On the contrary, the Emperor seemed to think those services amply compensated by the *protectorial commission* with which that monarch had been recently invested by his Imperial Majesty for the administration of the Duchy of Mecklenburg—the Duke of Mecklenburg being suspended from his government, by a sentence of the Aulic Council, for tyranny and mal-administration. And it is even asserted upon good authority, that this commission was actually and formally exchanged at the Court of Vienna, for the "INSTRUCTIONS of Sir George Byng." The affairs of Mecklenburg had long occupied a large share of the attention of the King of England, who was strongly suspected of a design to add that Duchy to his other acquisitions in Germany.

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Germany. And the Duke of Mecklenburg, in his ſeveral memorials to the Diet at Ratiſbon, openly charges the Houſe of Lunenburg with aſpiring to the abſolute ſovereignty of LOWER SAXONY; and affirms that the troubles in his dominions have been continually fomented and inflamed by the Court of Herenhauſen expreſsly with that view. But though the Emperor was at little pains to conceal his diſlike and jealouſy of theſe deſigns, the neceſſity of his affairs compelled him to this conceſſion, which was apparently conſidered only as a prelude to a more firm and permanent poſſeſſion. The King of England, in purſuance of his engagements with Sweden, ſending in the ſummer of this year, 1720, a powerful ſquadron into the Baltic, the Ruſſians—knowing that the commander Sir John Norris had inſtructions ſimilar to thoſe under which Sir George Byng had lately acted—retired into their ports; and a peace was ſoon afterwards concluded between the crowns of Sweden and Ruſſia; not, however, without ſtrong marks of reſentment on the part of the Czar, at what he ſtyled "the inſolent interpoſition of Great Britain."

It will now be proper to revert to thoſe domeſtic occurrences, the relation of which has been interrupted by this recital of foreign tranſactions. The riots and tumults which were the natural conſequence of the meaſures adopted by the preſent miniſtry, broke out afreſh from time to time in

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various parts of the kingdom with alarming ſymptoms of diſaffection and violence. But the ſpirit of diſloyalty and ſedition ſeemed to diſplay itſelf at this period with more conſpicuous malignity at the city of Oxford than perhaps any other place; inſomuch that it was deemed neceſſary by the Government to ſtation there a conſiderable military force, between whom and the youth of the Univerſity frequent occaſions of quarrel aroſe, ſome of which were of magnitude to come under judicial cognizance; and that antient and venerable ſeat of the Muſes ſeemed by a deplorable fatality to be converted into the temple of Civil Diſcord. On the return of the King from the Continent numerous addreſſes of congratulation were preſented; amongſt which one from the Univerſity of Cambridge, particularly noticing the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion, was moſt graciouſly received. At a meeting of the Vice-chancellor and Heads of Houſes in Oxford, a motion being made for that purpoſe, it was rejected with marked indignation. Dr. Smalridge, Biſhop of Briſtol and Dean of Chriſt Church, had the preceding year been removed from his poſt of Lord Almoner for refuſing, with Atterbury Biſhop of Rocheſter, to ſign the proteſtation of the Epiſcopal Bench againſt the claims of the Pretender: this Prelate now gratified his reſentment by declaring "that the rebellion had been long ſuppreſſed, and that there would be no

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no end of addreſſes ſhould one be preſented every time his Majeſty returned from Hanover—that any marks of royal favor they had received were more than counterbalanced by the troops now quartered upon them—and that the hiſtory of this country afforded no precedent for addreſſing a King on his return from his GERMAN DOMINIONS." As a deciſive proof of their alienation from the Court, or rather the Government, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, who on a ſtrong preſumption of diſaffection had been removed from his office as one of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, had an honorary degree conferred upon him with marks of peculiar diſtinction: and the Earl of Arran, on the attainder of his brother the Duke of Ormond, was choſen to ſucceed him as Chancellor of the Univerſity *.

The

* So marked at this period was that oppoſition of politics by which the two Univerſities were long diſtinguiſhed, and all ſymptoms of which are not at this day entirely obliterated, that we cannot wonder the Court ſhould embrace with eagerneſs every opportunity to diſplay its reſentment againſt the one, and its approbation of the other. A royal preſent of books having been ſent to Cambridge ſoon after the commencement of the tumults at Oxford, the celebrated Dr. Trapp took occaſion from this circumſtance to pen the following well-known Epigram:

Our Royal Maſter ſaw with heedful eyes
The wants of his two Univerſities:
Troops he to Oxford ſent, as knowing why
That learned body wanted loyalty,

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The cry of "the CHURCH and SACHEVEREL" ſeemed ſtill to retain its full efficacy and influence over the multitude; and the dwelling-houſes and meeting-houſes of the ſectaries were the favorite objects of the popular vengeance. In conſequence of theſe outrages the Houſe of Commons preſented an addreſs to the King, in which they ſtate, "that great numbers of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects had aſſembled in a tumultuous and rebellious manner, had committed great diſorders, and done great injuries to others of their fellow-ſubjects and fellow-proteſtants—and they declare it to be their indiſpenſable duty to expreſs their utmoſt abhorrence of all ſuch traitorous proceedings, and their higheſt reſentment againſt the authors and promoters of them; and beſeech his Majeſty, that the laws now in force may be put in ſpeedy and vigorous execution againſt them. And they farther deſire, that in juſtice to thoſe who for their zeal and firm adherence to his Majeſty's government have been ſufferers in the ſaid tumultuous and

But books to Cambridge gave, as well diſcerning
That that right loyal body wanted learning.

This Epigram received a very happy and deciſive retort from the late Sir William Brown, as it is ſaid, *impromptu*:

The King to Oxford ſent a troop of horſe,
For Tories know no argument but force.
With equal care to Cambridge books he ſent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument.

traitorous

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traitorous diſorders, his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct an exact account to be taken of the loſſes and damages ſuſtained by ſuch ſufferers, in order that full compenſation may be made; and aſſuring his Majeſty that all expences ſo incurred ſhall be made good out of the firſt aids granted by Parliament." To which the King replied, "that he would give immediate directions for putting in execution the ſeveral matters ſo juſtly recommended to him." This was followed by a very loyal and proper addreſs from the Diſſenters themſelves, acknowledging the ſeaſonable protection granted them by government, and expreſſing "a grateful ſenſe of his Majeſty's gracious anſwer to the addreſs of his faithful Commons in favor of thoſe whoſe ſufferings they ſo juſtly impute to the zeal diſplayed by them for his Majeſty's perſon and government. We deſire," ſay they, "nothing more than to enjoy our civil rights, with a full liberty to profeſs our own religious ſentiments, which we take to be a privilege due to all men. Nor know we any reaſon why we have now ſuffered from the outrages of diſaffected perſons, but becauſe we were known to be a body of men fixed in our duty to your Majeſty." To this addreſs his Majeſty replied in the moſt gracious terms, "expreſſing his deep concern at the unchriſtian and barbarous treatment which they had met with, and aſſuring them of his royal protection and a

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full compenſation for all their ſufferings." At this period the RIOT ACT paſſed for the prevention of ſimilar diſorders, declaring it to be felony for more than twelve perſons to remain aſſembled more than one hour after its being publicly read by the magiſtrate; and by the ſalutary operation of this law, the internal tranquillity of the kingdom was in a great degree reſtored and eſtabliſhed.

Notice has been already taken of the reſignation of Mr. Walpole, who had ſucceeded, on the deceaſe of the Earl of Halifax *, to the high and important poſt of Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. During his ſhort continuance in office, he had exhibited

* The Earl of HALIFAX ſurvived a very ſhort time only, his appointment as Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, which office he had before ſuſtained with high reputation, during the latter years of the reign of King WILLIAM—dying after a few days illneſs, in the vigor of his age, May 19, 1715. It is believed that he aſpired to the poſt of Lord High Treaſurer, and was little pleaſed with the King's determination to put the Treaſury into commiſſion. Though the abilities of this Nobleman as a Financier and a Stateſman were unqueſtionably great, he is chiefly known to poſterity as a moſt munificent patron of literature; maintaining in this reſpect an illuſtrious rivalſhip with the Earl of Oxford, the head of the oppoſite faction; and in the ſpace of eighty intervening years, theſe noblemen have had, it is not enough to ſay, no equals, but no ſucceſſors. When, on the great and memorable change of Adminiſtration, A. D. 1710, the Earl of Halifax interceded with the Earl of Oxford in favor of the Engliſh Menander, Congreve, who, through the favor of

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hibited a ſignal proof of his financial ability, in the introduction of the memorable Bill which enacted, that all the public funds redeemable by law, and bearing higher intereſt than five per cent. be redeemed

of Halifax, enjoyed a lucrative place under the government; Oxford, with great dignity and elegance, replied,

"Non obtuſa adeo geſtamus pectora Pœni,
Nec tam averſus equos Tyriâ ſol jungit ab urbe."

A very invidious caricature portrait of the Earl of Halifax is to be found in the Satires of Pope, under the name of BUFO;

"Proud as Apollo on his forked hill
Sat full-blown BUFO, puff'd by every quill;
Fed with ſoft dedication all day long,
Horace and he went hand and hand in ſong;
His library, where buſts of Poets dead,
And a true Pindar ſtood without a head,
Receiv'd of Wits an undiſtinguiſh'd race,
Who firſt his judgment aſk'd—and then a place;
Dryden alone—what wonder! came not nigh,
Dryden alone eſcap'd this judging eye:
But ſtill the Great have kindneſs in reſerve—
He help'd to bury whom he help'd to ſtarve."

Pope has elſewhere taken pains to impreſs the idea, that this Nobleman was a mere ſcioliſt in literature; and having matters of much more importance than poetry to engage his attention, it may eaſily be ſuppoſed that his criticiſms were often haſty and ſuperficial. The poetical remains of Lord Halifax, it muſt be confeſſed, do little honor to his memory, except as they afford a proof of his early and devoted attachment to the Muſes. There is however one beautiful paſſage, which well deſerves to be reſcued from

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redeemed according to their reſpective proviſoes or clauſes of redemption, or, with conſent of the proprietors, be converted into an intereſt or annuity not exceeding five per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament. And by this Bill the joint ſurpluſſes ariſing, as well from the propoſed reduction of intereſt from ſix to five per cent. as from the exceſſes of the ſeveral taxes appropriated to the payment of the intereſt, were ſolemnly declared to be ſolely and unalienably applicable, under the denomination of a SINKING FUND, to the diſcharge of the principal of the public debt contracted previous to the 25th of December of the preceding year 1716. Had this plan been as ſteadily proſecuted as it was wiſely concerted, the nation would have been ſoon relieved from her pecuniary difficulties. For, as in conſequence of the progreſſive redemption of the debt the ſur-

from oblivion, in his Epiſtle to the Earl of Dorſet, on the victory gained by King WILLIAM on the banks of the Boyne, in which that monarch received a ſlight contuſion from a muſquet-ball, which grazed on his ſhoulder:

"O, if in France this hero had been born,
What glittering tinſel would his acts adorn!
Their plays, their ſongs, would dwell upon his wound,
And operas repeat no other ſound:
Boyne would for ages be the painter's theme,
The Gobelins' labor, and the Poet's dream;
The wounded arm would furniſh all their rooms,
And BLEED for ever PURPLE in their looms."

pluſſes

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pluſſes muſt increaſe with accelerated rapidity, its internal energy, without ſtrict attention to the regular though complex mode of its operation, is wholly inconceivable. Of this plan of redemption it may with peculiar and ſtriking propriety be ſaid,

"Mobilitate viget, vireſque acquirit eundo."
"——— Every moment brings
New vigor to its flight, new pinions to its wings."

The immediate cauſe of the ſeceſſion of Mr. Walpole, whoſe example was followed by his friends, Mr. Methuen Secretary of State, and Mr. Pulteney Secretary at War, afterwards ſo famous and ſo formidable as his antagoniſt, has been already intimated, and was now unreſervedly avowed to be his total diſapprobation of the continental politics of the Court, which he perhaps deemed not merely injurious to the nation, but eventually hazardous to the ſafety of the Miniſter who ſhould venture publicly to juſtify or ſupport them. For it did not at this time clearly appear how far the complaiſance of Parliament would in time extend. Nor was it previouſly very credible that the intereſts of three powerful kingdoms ſhould be made entirely ſubſervient, by men choſen to guard and protect them, to the aſpiring views of a German Electorate. But experience and obſervation taught this Miniſter very different and much juſter notions of things. Mr. Walpole was ſucceeded in the Treaſury at firſt by General Stanhope,

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hope, who finding and ingenuouſly acknowledging his incompetency for that ſtation, ſoon reſigned to the Earl of Sunderland, who had long aſpired to the poſſeſſion of it. Under this nobleman Mr. Aiſlabie acted as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the celebrated Addiſon was advanced in the room of Mr. Methuen to the poſt of Secretary: but being found eſſentially deficient in the requiſite qualifications of a Miniſter of State, he reſigned, on the pretence of ill health and the fatigues of office, to Mr. Craggs. And General Stanhope, being created an Earl, reſumed the ſeals of the foreign department, leaving Aiſlabie and Craggs to conduct the affairs of government in the Houſe of Commons; who, though men of good parliamentary talents, were conſidered only as ſecondary miniſters to the great efficient leaders, Sunderland and Stanhope. The Earl of Oxford, who had now remained two years in the Tower, was encouraged, by the defection of his moſt powerful adverſary, to petition the Houſe of Lords that his impriſonment might not be indefinite: and the Houſe appointed an early day for his trial in Weſtminſter Hall, for which the moſt ſolemn and magnificent preparations were made, Earl Cowper preſiding, as on former occaſions, in the capacity of Lord High Steward. The articles of the impeachment being read, and Sir Joſeph Jekyl ſtanding up as one of the committee of managers in the name of

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of the Commons of England to make good the firſt charge, Lord Harcourt aroſe and obſerved, "that the articles of the impeachment being numerous, and two of them only extending to the charge of high treaſon, it was ſuperfluous to enter into the inveſtigation of the reſt till theſe had been decided upon; for, ſuppoſing him guilty of all, the utmoſt their Lordſhips could inflict, or the Earl could ſuffer, would amount to no more than the forfeiture of life and eſtate." The Commons affected to reſent what they ſtyled an encroachment upon their privileges, and peremptorily refuſed to proceed in the order preſcribed by the Lords. The Lords, on their part, haughtily refuſed a *free conference* on this ſubject, as demanded by the Commons: and on their non-appearance at the ſubſequent adjournment of the Court, the Earl was acquitted; not, as was generally believed, without the ſecret approbation and concurrence of the Crown. The Commons, however, preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring that he might be excepted out of the intended act of grace; by which they expreſſed at once their ſenſe of the Earl's demerit, and their contempt of their Lordſhips' ſentence of acquittal. The act of grace accordingly paſſed with this and ſome other exceptions; and Oxford, to preſerve appearances, was forbidden to preſent himſelf at Court, but no attempt was at any time made to revive the proceedings againſt him. By virtue of

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this act the Lords Carnwath, Widrington, and Nairne, with many other perſons of diſtinction concerned in the late rebellion, were diſcharged. Lord Nithiſdale had previouſly effected his eſcape; the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Viſcount Kenmuir only ſuffering the utmoſt rigor of the law.

In the courſe of this year (1718) the attention of the public was excited in a moſt uncommon degree by a ſermon preached before the King at the Chapel-Royal, and publiſhed at his expreſs command, by Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, Lord Biſhop of Bangor, "On the nature of the kingdom of CHRIST." As the foundation of this memorable diſcourſe, the Biſhop ſelected the famous declaration of Chriſt to Pilate, the Roman procurator; "MY KINGDOM IS NOT OF THIS WORLD." And the direct and undiſguiſed object of it was, to prove "that the kingdom of Chriſt, and the ſanctions by which it is ſupported, were of a nature wholly intellectual and ſpiritual—that the CHURCH, taking the term in its utmoſt latitude of ſignification, did not, and could not, poſſeſs the ſlighteſt degree of AUTHORITY under any commiſſion, or pretended commiſſion, derived from him: that the Church of England, and all other national churches, were merely civil or human inſtitutions, eſtabliſhed for the purpoſes of diffuſing and perpetuating the knowledge and belief of Chriſtianity; which contained a ſyſtem of truths, not in their

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their nature differing from other truths, excepting by their ſuperior weight and importance; and which were to be inculcated in a manner analogous to other truths, demanding only, from their more intereſting import, proportionably higher degrees of care, attention, and aſſiduity in the promulgation of them." It is ſcarcely to be imagined in theſe times, with what degree of furious and malignant rancor theſe plain, ſimple, and rational principles were attacked by the zealots and champions of the Church. On the meeting of the Convocation, a committee was appointed to examine this famous publication; and a repreſentation was quickly drawn up, in which a moſt heavy cenſure was paſſed upon it, as tending to ſubvert all government and diſcipline in the church of Chriſt, to reduce his kingdom to a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion, to impugn and impeach the royal ſupremacy in matters eccleſiaſtical, and the authority of the legiſlature to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil ſanctions. A ſudden ſtop however was put to theſe diſgraceful proceedings, by a royal prorogation; and from this period the Convocation has never been convened but as a mere matter of form, and for the purpoſe of being again prorogued. Perhaps, however, in theſe more enlightened times, this aſſembly might be again permitted to reſume its deliberative and legiſlative powers, with advan-

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tage to the community—and in no other aſſembly could propoſitions of eccleſiaſtical reform originate with ſo much effect or propriety. The controverſy which thus commenced, was carried on for ſeveral years with great ability and animation on the part of the Biſhop, aided by various excellent pens, though oppoſed by men whoſe learning and talents gave an artificial luſtre to bigotry and abſurdity. No controverſy, however, upon the whole, ever more fully and completely anſwered the purpoſe intended by it. The obſcurity in which this ſubject had been long involved, was diſſipated. The public mind was enlightened and convinced. CHURCH AUTHORITY, *the chimæra vomiting flames*, was deſtroyed; and the name of HOADLEY will be tranſmitted from generation to generation, with increaſe of honor, of eſteem, and grateful veneration. It would be injuſtice alſo to deny to the King himſelf his ſhare of praiſe for countenancing and ſupporting opinions ſo oppoſite to thoſe which have uſually conſtituted a part of the policy of princes; and which reflect equal credit upon his underſtanding and integrity. As a far more important proof, however, of the liberal and benignant diſpoſition of this Monarch, Earl Stanhope, his favorite and confidential miniſter, preſented to the Houſe of Lords, December 1718, a Bill for the Repeal of the Occaſional Conformity and Schiſm Acts, paſſed under the late adminiſtration;

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ſtration; and likewiſe ſuch clauſes of the Teſt and Corporation Acts as operated to the excluſion of Proteſtant Diſſenters from civil offices. The latter part of the Bill had an unexpected and formidable obſtacle to encounter in the oppoſition of the Lord Cowper, who joined the Tory Lords in ſounding the alarm of DANGER *to the* CHURCH, ſhould the Diſſenters be admitted to the common rights and privileges of citizens in the ſtate. Dr. Wake, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate eminent for learning and general reſpectability of character, but who, ſince his elevation to the primacy, ſeemed to have loſt ſight in a great meaſure of thoſe principles to which he owed his advancement, employed upon this occaſion ſome arguments againſt the Diſſenters, which were conſidered by his former friends as not a little extraordinary. He affirmed, "That the Acts this Bill propoſed to repeal were the main bulwarks of the Engliſh church; and though he had *all imaginable tenderneſs for well-meaning and conſcientious Diſſenters*, he was compelled to ſay, that many of that perſuaſion had made a wrong uſe of the *favor and indulgence* ſhewn them at the Revolution; it was therefore deemed neceſſary for the legiſlature to interpoſe, in order to put a ſtop to the ſcandalous practice of occaſional conformity. As to the Act againſt Schiſm—the proteſt of the Lords againſt which, reprobating, in the moſt in-

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dignant terms, that deteſtable ſtatute, he had himſelf ſigned—his Grace added, that the repeal of it was SUPERFLUOUS, as no advantage had been taken of the Act to the prejudice of the Diſſenters*." In oppoſition to theſe *novel ſentiments* of his Grace, the Biſhop of Bangor demonſtrated "that the Acts ſtyled by the Archbiſhop the bulwarks of the church, under whatever falſe colors they might be diſguiſed, were Acts of real perſecution: that if the *mere pretext* of ſelf-preſervation, or ſelf-defence, was once admitted as a ſufficient ground for paſſing laws of this nature, all the heathen perſecutions againſt Chriſtians, and all the Popiſh perſecutions againſt Proteſtants, would be juſtified: that the church of England as by law eſtabliſhed ſtood not, and he truſted would never ſtand, in need of ſuch miſerable ſupports: that toleration was not a *favor*, or *indulgence*, but a natural

* It might be imagined, from that "tenderneſs to well-meaning Diſſenters," which this Prelate ſo oſtentatiouſly profeſſes, and which they no doubt are bound with ſuitable humility and gratitude to acknowledge, that the Diſſenters are a weak and ignorant people, entertaining abſurd notions on ſubjects of high and general concern, and wholly deſtitute of learning and ability to defend their own principles. But of this, not the preſent times only, but "the centuries to come," will judge. As an amuſing contraſt to theſe ſentiments of Archbiſhop Wake, it may not be improper to oppoſe thoſe of his venerable predeceſſor Archbiſhop Tenniſon, who in the debate on the Occaſional Conformity Bill, A. D. 1704, declared his decided diſapprobation of the meaſure. Far from conſidering occaſional

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natural right; and that the ſafety of the church was ſecured by no means ſo effectually, as by a regard to the juſt and equitable claims of their fellow-chriſtians and fellow-citizens. He added, "that the ardent and intemperate zeal which many diſplayed for the intereſts of the church, was, he feared, principally incited by a regard to their own intereſts, and by a ſecret and fond attachment to the power, the honors, and the emoluments which appertain to it. The deſire of power and riches was, he owned, natural to all; but reaſon and religion ought to reſtrain men from indulging it, to the injury or prejudice of others; or in any manner inconſiſtent with the general rights and liberties of mankind." Theſe ſentiments of the Biſhop of Bangor were ſtrongly enforced by Dr. Kennet Biſhop of Peterborough,

cafional conformity as "a ſcandalous practice;" or "dangerous to the church," he affirmed, that it ought to be encouraged by all good churchmen, as having an evident tendency to conciliate the affections, and to moderate the prejudices, of the Diſſenters; being in itſelf a laudable exerciſe of Chriſtian charity, and nowiſe incompatible with the ſtricteſt integrity. "The employing of perſons," ſaid this excellent Prelate, "of a religion different from the eſtabliſhed in civil offices, has been practiſed in all countries where liberty of conſcience has been allowed. We have already gone farther in excluding Diſſenters than any country has done. Whatever reaſons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from Papiſts, when the Teſt Act was paſſed, cannot be applicable to the Diſſenters at preſent. On the contrary, manifeſt inconveniences reſult from this excluſion."

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who declared his opinion, that the repeal of the Acts in queſtion would not be detrimental to the church, but would redound to her advantage and ſecurity. He affirmed that the evidence of hiſtory proved the church to be moſt ſafe and flouriſhing when the clergy did not affect more power than appertains to their ſhare, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects: but that arbitrary meaſures and perſecutions firſt brought, as the experience of the laſt century ſufficiently evinced, ſcandal and contempt upon the clergy, and, at laſt, ruin both upon church and ſtate. The CHURCH, ſaid this Prelate, is, I admit, a term of ſacred and venerable import, and therefore it is, that in the mouths of bigots, or of malicious and deſigning men, it has produced ſuch fatal effects. 'The TEMPLE of the LORD—the TEMPLE of the LORD are WE,' was of old the boaſt of the ſeditious and abandoned among the Jews, and was uſed as a color and incentive to every evil purpoſe. The Biſhop ſaid, that the Diſſenters, though the moſt zealous promoters of the Revolution, had hitherto been no gainers by it; for it was well known that they enjoyed the full benefits of toleration under King James. And he ſtated as a groſs political abſurdity, that they were incapacitated by the Teſt from ſerving that government of which they were allowed to be the firmeſt friends; and alluding to what had paſſed

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paſſed in the courſe of the debate, he declared, that he hoped it would not be thought ſufficient, in oppoſition to the plaineſt dictates of juſtice and equity, which called aloud for the repeal of theſe Acts, to ſay, "that the example of SWEDEN was otherwiſe."

In this memorable debate, no one diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than Lord Lanſdowne, who had imbibed in all their virulence the antient principles of Toryiſm; who had been a ſteady and inveterate enemy to the Hanoverian ſucceſſion; and who was happy to embrace this occaſion of pronouncing an invective againſt the Diſſenters, replete with malignant and ſarcaſtic wit, and breathing a ſpirit which, unreſtrained by external cauſes, would doubtleſs have diſplayed itſelf in all the terrors of the moſt ſanguinary perſecution. This nobleman declared, "That he always underſtood the Act of Toleration to be meant as an indulgence for tender conſciences, not a licenſe for hardened ones—and that the Act to prevent occaſional conformity was deſigned only to correct a particular crime of particular men, in which none were included but thoſe followers of Judas who came to the Lord's ſupper for no other end but to ſell and betray him. It is to me (ſaid his Lordſhip) a matter of aſtoniſhment, to hear the merit of Diſſenters ſo highly extolled and magnified within theſe walls. Who is there among us,

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but can tell of ſome anceſtor either ſequeſtered or murdered by them? Who voted the Lords uſeleſs? The Diſſenters.—Who aboliſhed Epiſcopacy? The Diſſenters.—Who deſtroyed freedom of Parliament? The Diſſenters.—Who introduced government by ſtanding armies? The Diſſenters.—Who waſhed their hands in the blood of their martyred Sovereign? The Diſſenters.—Have they repented? No—they glory in their wickedneſs at this day. That they have remained not only quiet, but have appeared zealous in the ſupport of the preſent eſtabliſhment, is no wonder: for who but themſelves, or their favorers, have been thought worthy of countenance? If univerſal diſcontent pervades at this time all ranks of people throughout the nation, the reaſon is plain, flagrant, and notorious. It ariſes from the inſolence and the preſumption of the Diſſenters—from their open inſults of the clergy—from their public vindication of the murder of King Charles I. and their vile reflections upon the memory of Queen Anne, ever dear to the people of England; beſides other indecent and arrogant provocations, too many to enumerate, too grievous to endure. And if all this is done, not only with impunity, but with authority and reward, is there not more than ſufficient reaſon for jealouſy? a jealouſy, which this new attempt to break down all the fences and boundaries of the church at once, will certainly have

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have no tendency to extinguiſh. If indeed (concluded his Lordſhip) there are individuals amongſt them who pretend to peculiar merit, let them ſtand forth, and clearly and explicitly ſtate their claims—for GOD forbid but that all of them ſhould have their deſerts!"—If at this diſtance of time, and on a cool and impartial review of facts, we are compelled ſeverely to cenſure the conduct of the Whigs, now exerciſing the entire powers of Government, as exhibiting plain indications of the rage and hatred characteriſtic of a political faction, it is not difficult to conjecture, from this and ſimilar ſpecimens of Tory eloquence, to what far more dangerous extremes of violence the oppoſite faction, if triumphant, were prepared to reſort. The ſpeculative principles of the Whigs alſo being in their own nature juſt, beneficent, and generous; the ſpirit of their adminiſtration, after the firſt emotions of rancor and revenge were gratified, became inſenſibly mild, eaſy, and equitable: whereas, had the Tories gained a permanent aſcendency, the certain foundation would have been laid of an internal and everlaſting ſyſtem of oppreſſion, diſtraction, and calamity.

After long debate, the Houſe agreed to leave out the clauſes reſpecting the Corporation and Teſt Acts; in which ſtate it was tranſmitted to and paſſed by the Commons; and in the Royal Speech, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, his Majeſty expreſſed the

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higheſt ſatisfaction at this ſignal inſtance of legiſlative wiſdom and moderation *.

Previous however to the receſs of Parliament, a Bill was unexpectedly brought in, under the ſanction of the Government, for limiting the Peerage,

* Sir Robert Walpole, at this time in oppoſition, with a view to embarraſs the meaſures of the Court, ſpoke and voted againſt this repeal: and he is ſaid frequently to have expreſſed, in the latter years of his life, his regret at having joined in the clamors of the High-Church party on this occaſion. Lord Cheſterfield, then a very young man, and in the ſervice of the Prince of Wales, who at this period countenanced the Oppoſition, voted on the ſame ſide with more ſincerity: "I thought it (ſays he) impoſſible for the honeſteſt man in the world to be ſaved out of the pale of the CHURCH, not conſidering that matters of opinion do not depend upon the will—that it is as natural and allowable that another man ſhould differ in opinion from me, as that I ſhould differ from him; and that if we are both ſincere, we are both blameleſs, and ſhould conſequently have mutual indulgence for each other." It may be tranſiently remarked, in anſwer to the virulent accuſations of Lord Lanſdowne, that it is the height of folly, as well as injuſtice, to charge the acts of Cromwell's uſurpation upon the Diſſenters or Preſbyterians of the laſt century—when it is notorious, that they oppoſed them to the utmoſt of their power—and that 200 members of the Houſe of Commons of that denomination were ſecluded by military violence from the Houſe before the ordinance paſſed for the trial of the King. Had the condemnation of that mercileſs and perfidious tyrant—for ſuch, notwithſtanding his boaſted private and perſonal virtues, he undoubtedly was—reſulted from the unbiaſſed will of the nation, future ages might have applauded the act, though, as perpetrated by a deſperate and lawleſs faction, in oppoſition to the public will, it is indeed the ſubject of juſt

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Peerage, by reſtraining the Crown from enlarging the preſent number of Peers by more than ſix new creations. This was generally conſidered as a meaſure not ſo much of policy as of reſentment on the part of the Crown, eagerly and intemperately deſirous to excite the cha-

juſt abhorrence. Let the guilt of the individuals concerned in this tranſaction, however, be what it may; why are we, who have only an hiſtorical knowledge of the fact, and who live in another age of the world, called upon to expreſs our penitence and contrition for it? Certainly, the ſervice of the 30th of January is a political farce, upon which the wiſdom of Government ought long ago to have dropped the curtain. There is indeed a charge omitted by Lord Lanſdowne, but which might be properly urged againſt the Diſſenters, as containing not fictitious, but real culpability. It is that, poſſeſſing the authority and confidence of the nation in the Convention Parliament of 1660, they had the unpardonable weakneſs to reſtore King Charles II. to the crown, without any previous limitations or conditions. Let the idolizers of Kings, who have hearts to feel, if not underſtandings to be convinced, view the intereſting and affecting portrait now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Elliot, of his illuſtrious anceſtor Sir John Elliot, who, with many other diſtinguiſhed Patriots, was, for his noble exertions in the cauſe of liberty, committed to the Tower, after the diſſolution of the laſt of the early Parliaments of Charles I. He is drawn pale, languiſhing, and emaciated—but diſdaining to make the abject ſubmiſſion required of him by the tyrant, he expired under the exceſſive rigors of his confinement, leaving this portrait as a legacy and memento to his poſterity, and to mankind; who, in the contemplation of ſuch enormities, have reaſon to rejoice

"When vengeance in the lurid air
Lifts her red arm expos'd and bare."

grin,

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grin, and diminiſh the political importance, of the Prince of Wales, who had highly offended the Court by the ſupport he had for ſome time paſt given to the Oppoſition. The Court influence, weakened by the late ſeceſſion, and in this inſtance oppoſed by the general ſenſe of the nation, which ſaw its tendency to elevate the ariſtocracy, and by the *eſprit du corps* of the Houſe of Commons, was however found, upon trial, not ſufficiently powerful to carry this favorite but very exceptionable project into effect: and the Bill, after being withdrawn by Lord Stanhope in order to its revival with greater force the enſuing ſeſſion, when it paſſed the Lords with very little difficulty, was ultimately rejected by the Commons, not without evident marks of indignation; the diviſion on the queſtion of commitment being 269 to 177 voices.

Mr. Walpole particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the animation of his oppoſition to this Bill. By an alluſion *happily imagined*, he compared the two Houſes of Parliament to the temples of Fame and Virtue, and obſerved that, "among the Romans, the former was placed behind the latter, to denote that fame was no otherwiſe attainable than by virtue. But if the preſent Bill paſſed into a law, one of the moſt powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away. He affirmed that this Bill would not only operate as a diſcouragement to merit, but would

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would endanger the conſtitution: that the Peers were already poſſeſſed of ſufficient privileges; but that the propoſed limitation of their number would prodigiouſly enhance their authority, and in time reduce the Commons to a ſtate of ſervile dependency: that he was aſtoniſhed their Lordſhips could preſume to ſend ſuch a Bill to that Houſe, or that they could flatter themſelves it would ever receive their concurrence, or expect that they would voluntarily exclude themſelves and their poſterity from the honors of the Peerage. And he thought it a very injurious and ungrateful return in one, who had himſelf been advanced to a participation of thoſe honors for his public ſervices, to endeavor, on his admiſſion to the Houſe of Peers, to bar the door againſt future claimants."

In alluſion to this Bill, the King, in his ſpeech from the throne, had uſed theſe remarkable expreſſions: "As I can truly affirm that no prince was ever more zealous to increaſe his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to eſtabliſh and tranſmit to your poſterity the freedom of our happy conſtitution; and particularly to ſecure that part which is moſt liable to abuſe." And by an expreſs meſſage to the Lords, when the Bill was pending, his Majeſty declared, "That he had ſo much at heart the ſettlement of the Britiſh Peerage, upon ſuch a foundation as might ſecure the freedom

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freedom and conſtitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative ſhould not ſtand in the way of ſo great and neceſſary a work." Certainly it would be harſh and uncandid to aſcribe this apparent generoſity of ſentiment to the excluſive influence of invidious motives; but it may well be doubted whether the remedy propoſed by the miniſters of the Crown, for the abuſe ſo reaſonably apprehended, and which time has contributed rather to ſtrengthen than impair, might not in its conſequences be productive of political inconvenience ſtill more ſerious than the evil it was intended to obviate.

In the ſeſſion of 1719, alſo, the celebrated Declaratory Bill, for the better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of England, was introduced and paſſed; in which the ſupremacy of the appellant juriſdiction of the Engliſh Houſe of Peers, and the right of the Engliſh Parliament to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland in all caſes whatſoever, were aſſerted in a high tone, in conſequence of the refractory ſpirit which had lately diſplayed itſelf in various inſtances in that kingdom. Nor was it conceivable at this period, by any effort of political ſagacity, that Ireland would be in a ſituation, before the termination of the century, to extort from England an entire and abſolute renunciation of theſe haughty and unjuſt pretenſions. The Parliament of Ireland aſ-

ſembling

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ſembling July 1, 1719, the Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, in his ſpeech, ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of guarding againſt the deſigns of the diſaffected, and declared, that it would be very pleaſing to his Majeſty, if any method could be found, not inconſiſtent with the ſecurity of the church, to render the Proteſtant Diſſenters more uſeful and capable of ſerving his Majeſty, and ſupporting the Proteſtant intereſt, than they now are—they having upon all occaſions given ſufficient proofs of their being well affected to his Majeſty's perſon and government, and to the ſucceſſion of the crown in his royal houſe. And this his Excellency declared he was expreſſly ordered to lay before the legiſlature, as a thing greatly importing his Majeſty's ſervice, and the national ſecurity. In conſequence of this interpoſition, an Act paſſed to relieve the Diſſenters from certain penalties inflicted by the exiſting laws; but the repeal of the ſacramental Teſt, to which the King plainly extended his views, could not be obtained by any effort of regal influence from the equity or complaiſance of the preſent Parliament *.

About

* Nearly at this period the Earl of Stair, who had ſerved his country for ſeveral years with diſtinguiſhed ability, as Ambaſſador at the Court of Verſailles, was recalled in conſequence of a political difference between him and the Lords Stanhope and Sunderland, reſpecting the famous Law, raiſed by the Regent to the Comptroller-generalſhip of the Finances, and whoſe credit at the

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About this period, the famous South-Sea Bill was introduced into the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Aiſlabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Earl of Sunderland preſiding at the board of Treaſury; and, after long and able diſcuſſion, received the royal aſſent, April 7th, 1720. By this Bill, which propoſed eventually to reduce all the different public ſecurities into one grand aggregate fund, the South-Sea Company was inveſted with certain commercial privileges, and authorized to take in, by purchaſe or ſubſcription, both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, to the amount of about thirty-three millions, at ſuch rates and prices as ſhould be agreed upon between the Company and the reſpective proprietors—a clauſe propoſed in the Houſe of Commons, for aſcertaining what ſhare of the capital ſtock of the Company ſhould

the French Court, from the knowledge of his miſchievous deſigns, the Ambaſſador had labored to ſubvert. In a letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs, dated February 14, 1720, he vindicates his public character and conduct with great ſpirit, and in a manner highly characteriſtic of his well-known firmneſs and elevation of mind. A few ſentences it may be permitted as the privilege of a note to tranſcribe. "If (ſays he) Lord Stanhope has not gained Mr. Law, I am afraid we ſhall not find our account in his Lordſhip's ſupporting him, when he was ready to fall—in making him firſt miniſter, and recalling me from this Court, where my long ſtay ſhould have enabled me to be better able to judge of their deſigns, and of their ways of working, than a ſtranger of greater capacity could poſſibly be. After the uſage I meet with, I do not wonder to ſee that our miniſters have

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ſhould be veſted in thoſe proprietors of government ſtock, who might voluntarily ſubſcribe, being moſt unwiſely rejected. In return, the Company conſented that the intereſt upon their original capital of 9,400,000l. as well as the intereſt upon the public debts, to be redeemed in the mode preſcribed by the preſent Act, ſhould, after Midſummer-day 1727, be reduced to four per cent. redeemable by Parliament; and excluſive of this reduction, the Company agreed to pay into the Exchequer four years and a half purchaſe of all the long and ſhort annuities that ſhould be ſubſcribed, and one year's purchaſe of ſuch long annuities as ſhould not be ſubſcribed; amounting, on the execution of the Act, to no leſs than ſeven millions; for raiſing which ſum, they were impowered to open books of ſubſcription, to grant annuities redeemable by the Company, and to convert the money ſo raiſed into additional ſtock. It is evi-

have ſo few friends. As to my revocation, if it was poſſible I ſhould have a mind to ſtay in this country, you have made it impracticable—you have taken all effectual ways to deſtroy any perſonal credit I had with the Regent—you have made it plain to him, that I have no credit with the King—you are under a neceſſity of ſending therefore another miniſter to this Court. As to the manner of my revocation, I do not care to make the grimace of deſiring it for falſe reaſons. I expect nothing, and I fear nothing. As to my behaviour when I come home, I ſhall ever be a faithful ſervant to the King, and act as a man in whom the love of his country is ſuperior to all other conſiderations." *Hardwick State Papers.*

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dent, from the wild and extravagant terms of this contract, that it was never meant to be ſeriouſly fulfilled. In vain did the ſagacity of Walpole diſcern, and his eloquence diſplay, the mighty miſchiefs contained in this caſket of Pandora. In vain did he urge the acceptance of the equitable and rational propoſals of the Bank. The Houſe was faſcinated by the dazzling and magnificent appearance of the South-Sea project; and the Bill paſſed with general applauſe, and by a vaſt majority of votes, 55 members only dividing againſt it. But in a ſhort time this myſtery of iniquity began to unfold itſelf. The moſt artful and inſidious methods were put in practice to delude the public with the notion of the vaſt emoluments eventually to be derived from the commercial intercourſe which it was pretended would, with the conſent of the Court of Madrid, and as an equivalent for the ceſſion of Gibraltar and Minorca, be eſtabliſhed with the empires of Mexico and Peru. The ſucceſſive ſubſcriptions filled with amazing rapidity; and the Court of Directors declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Chriſtmas 1720, and 50 per cent. for no leſs than twelve years after, the transfer price of the Company's ſtock advancing in proportion to the public demand, roſe from 130, which was the price it bore while the Bill was depending in Parliament, in a very ſhort ſpace of time to 1000; by which means an oppor-

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tunity was offered, to thoſe who were concerned in the project, or rather the plot, to make immenſe fortunes, before the burſting of this mighty bubble. And the ſtock falling with the ſame, or even greater rapidity, than that with which it had riſen; vaſt numbers of adventurers—and ſuch was the general infatuation, that upon this occaſion the whole nation ſeemed to have become adventurers—awaking from their golden dreams of proſperity, found themſelves reduced to a ſtate of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs and ruin. On a parliamentary inveſtigation of this dark and dangerous buſineſs, which was ſtyled, in the report of the Secret Committee, "a train of the deepeſt villainy and fraud Hell ever contrived for the ruin of any nation;" it appeared, that transfers of the Company's ſtock, to a very great amount, had been made to perſons high in office, to facilitate the paſſing of the Bill—that the ſcandalous artifices practiſed by the Company, and their ſhameleſs abuſe of the public confidence, had received not only the connivance but the encouragement of ſeveral, at leaſt, of the Miniſters: and Lord Sunderland and Mr. Aiſlabie were compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful reſignation of their offices—the latter being alſo expelled the Houſe, and committed to the Tower. Mr. Craggs, Secretary of State, was exempted only by the ſtroke of death, from a ſimilar fate: and many other per-

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ſons of figure and conſequence, who were found, on inquiry, more or leſs culpable, were variouſly puniſhed; though, in the opinion of the exaſperated public, not with an adequate degree of ſeverity. Nevertheleſs, the Houſe acted with a ſpirit and unanimity on this great occaſion, which reflected upon their proceedings the higheſt honor; and ſufficiently manifeſted the indignation they felt, at having been, under ſpecious pretences, made the unintentional inſtruments of an injury ſo extenſive, and a deception ſo dreadful.

Mr. Waller, ſon-in-law to Aiſlabie, to whom South-Sea Stock to an immenſe amount had been transferred, had preſerved no minutes of his tranſactions; and pretended, on his examination, that he could not recollect for what perſons or purpoſes he had accepted it. Sir John Blount, accounted the original projector, and one of the moſt guilty agents in this buſineſs, refuſing to anſwer certain interrogatories put to him in the Houſe of Lords by the Duke of Wharton; and being ſupported ſomewhat too peremptorily in his refuſal, by Lord Stanhope; the Duke maliciouſly obſerved, that the government of the beſt princes was ſometimes rendered intolerable to their ſubjects by bad miniſters—mentioning the example of Sejanus, who had made the reign of Claudius hateful to the Romans. Conſcious of the unſullied rectitude of his conduct, Lord Stanhope, in a tranſport

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tranſport of anger, roſe to ſpeak in his own vindication; and in conſequence of the vehemence of his exertions, was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs, which compelled him to retire: and after a ſhort interval of languiſhment and inſenſibility, he expired in the evening of the next day, extremely regretted by his Sovereign, and poſſeſſing the general eſteem and regard of the nation *. On the deceaſe of this nobleman, and the compulſive reſignation of Sunderland, a new arrangement of adminiſtration was formed; and Mr. Walpole, Lord Townſhend, Lord Cowper, and Mr. Methuen, now reconciled to the Court, were re-inſtated with great *eclat* in their former or other principal offices: and from this period, Mr. Walpole—who being in the progreſs of royal favor inveſted with the Order of the Garter, aſſumed the title of Sir Robert Walpole — muſt be regarded as Prime Miniſter †. Through

* The King, as the Counteſs of Cheſterfield, who was preſent on the occaſion, related to the reſpectable Author of the "Memoirs of the Earl of Cheſterfield," received the intelligence of this nobleman's death when at ſupper; and not being able to ſuppreſs the emotions of his grief, he roſe from table, and retired —his eyes being ſuffuſed with tears. Lord Stanhope died, Feb. 1721. Sir Robert Walpole's commiſſion, as Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, bore date April 2, 1721.

† Though a real and very important difference of opinion was believed to exiſt in the Cabinet, previous to the ſeceſſion, on the ſubject of continental politics; the animoſities of the Whigs, it muſt be remarked, may be traced to another and

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Through the judicious and vigorous reſolutions adopted by Parliament, in purſuance of his recommendations, public credit was ſpeedily and effectually reſtored. Knight, Caſhier of the South-Sea Company, for the apprehending of whom a royal proclamation had been iſſued, had eſcaped at a critical moment to the Continent; carrying with him the famous *Green Book*, which was ſuppoſed to contain the entire ſecret of the tranſaction. Being arreſted at Tirlemont, by the vigilance of the Engliſh Reſident at Bruſſels, application was made to the Marquis du Prie, Governor of the Low Countries, to deliver him up to juſtice. But anſwer was unexpectedly

much leſs honorable ſource—the inſatiable ambition of the Earl of Sunderland; whoſe cabals and intrigues had, from the death of the Earl of Halifax, divided the Court into two oppoſite and hoſtile parties. Lord Stanhope, who poſſeſſed the entire confidence of the King, and who had acquired a great aſcendency over him, was much diſpoſed to favor the views, and was himſelf manifeſtly under the influence, of the artful Sunderland. Walpole and Townſhend, finding themſelves excluded from the ſecret counſels of the King, and becoming every day more inſignificant, determined upon a reſignation. A vehement mutual reſentment and averſion from this time ſubſiſted between Stanhope and Walpole, which broke out on one occaſion in an altercation and reciprocal crimination in the Houſe of Commons ſo violent, that the Houſe was obliged to interpoſe its authority, to prevent any diſaſtrous conſequences. And Mr. Hungerford obſerved, "that it became the members of that Houſe, after the Oriental faſhion, to avert their countenances,

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unexpectedly made by the Imperial Court, that this could not be done, conſiſtently with the privileges of the States of Brabant—for by an article of the *Joyeuſe Entrée*, no perſon, againſt whom a criminal accuſation is brought, can be removed for trial out of the province. It was thought that, in a caſe of this momentous nature, his Imperial Majeſty, for whom England had conquered kingdoms, might have prevailed upon the States to wave their privilege: and very preſſing inſtances were anew made, for the ſurrender of Knight. But, in the interim, he effected a ſecond eſcape from the citadel of Antwerp—and in the ſequel, he received

nances, while theſe two great men, the Fathers of the State, were thus expoſing each other's nakedneſs." After the diſgrace of Sunderland, and the death of Stanhope, no ſhadow of competition remained; and Townſhend and Walpole were inveſted with the full powers of government. But no ſooner had they attained the ſummit of their wiſhes, than a violent jealouſy aroſe between theſe quondam friends; and the influence of Walpole at length prevailing, Lord Townſhend, after a long-protracted ſtruggle, reſigned his offices, and retired to his eſtates in Norfolk; where he paſſed his remaining years highly reſpected, amuſing himſelf, and benefiting the country around him, with his agricultural experiments—to which there is an alluſion in one of Pope's epiſtolary imitations of Horace—"All Townſhend's turnips, and all Groſvenor's mines." But theſe court-intrigues are amongſt thoſe arcana of State, which lie too deep for "men of common minds" to diſcuſs. They are unfathomable myſteries, ſacred as thoſe of the *Bona Dea*: PROCUL ESTE PROFANI.

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a free pardon. Vehement ſuſpicions, therefore, aroſe, that Knight's evidence was too deciſive to be produced; and that the late Miniſter had ſtill ſufficient influence to ſcreen himſelf from that puniſhment, which the whole nation believed him to merit, and from which his ſuperior adroitneſs of management only protected him.

Lord SUNDERLAND did not long ſurvive his diſmiſſion from his high office; but died April 1722, leaving behind him a character which bore a ſtriking analogy to that of his father—bold, reſtleſs, inſidious, faithleſs, ambitious, excelling in all the arts of courtly addreſs, and diſtinguiſhed by his extent of political knowledge and ſagacity, though he attained not to the dignity of true wiſdom, which is inſeparably connected with rectitude of heart and conduct. Nearly at the ſame time expired the celebrated JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH, to whom Sunderland was cloſely allied, by marriage with his eldeſt daughter. So variouſly has the character of this great man been delineated, that it is no eaſy taſk clearly to aſcertain the truth. With reſpect to political probity, however, he ſeems not inferior to the generality of his cotemporaries. He has been accuſed of baſe ingratitude in the deſertion of his royal maſter and benefactor, King James II. But this deſertion took place at a time when it was not unattended with danger: and there appears in his conduct, at that great political criſis,

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criſis, nothing inconſiſtent with the ſuppoſition that his motives were laudable and patriotic. And ſurely no private obligation can be of force to ſuperſede the duties we owe to our country. It is, indeed, far more difficult to juſtify the correſpondence which he afterwards carried on with the abdicated monarch: but this guilt he appears to have ſhared with ſo many other diſtinguiſhed, and, upon the whole, reſpectable perſons, that it cannot be imputed to him as a ſubject of peculiar reproach. The truth is, that a ſecret ſuſpicion and apprehenſion pervading the minds of the bulk of the nation, that the exiled family would, by ſome revolution in politics, be one day reſtored, as in the perſon of King Charles II. it had once before been; many, perhaps a majority of thoſe who acted a conſpicuous part in public life, allowed themſelves, by a too lax political morality, to entertain a clandeſtine correſpondence with the Court of St. Germaine's, with a view to avert the effects of its indignation in caſe the actual ſtate of things ſhould be reverſed, but who were far from wiſhing to contribute to the acceleration of ſuch a cataſtrophe. And it is evident that the Court of St. Germaine's was the perpetual dupe of theſe egregious artifices. The military talents of the Duke of Marlborough tranſcend all praiſe, and may be ſet with advantage in competition with

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thoſe of any commander antient or modern*. To Marlborough alone, no one has ventured to impute either error or misfortune. In his political capacity, he was a moſt able and ſucceſsful negotiator; and though, in conſequence of his early initiation into the brilliant and diſſipated circles of the Court, neceſſarily and groſsly illiterate; all defects of this nature were more than compenſated by the native excellence of his underſtanding, the faſcination of his manners, and his profound knowledge of mankind—the fruit, not of abſtract ſpeculation, but of actual obſervation and long experience. His perſon was eminently graceful, and his countenance noble and engaging: his diſpoſition was mild, his deportment affable, and the general tenor of his private and ſocial life regular and unblemiſhed. He has been, indeed, uſually repreſented as deeply tinctured with the vice of avarice: but though he was, doubtleſs, eager in the accumulation of riches, it does not appear that he degraded the dignity of his ſtation and character,

* When Prince Eugene was in England, during the adminiſtration of Lord Oxford, being one day entertained at the table of the Lord Treaſurer, that Miniſter politely remarked, that he might congratulate himſelf on having for his gueſt the firſt General in Europe: to which his Highneſs, in alluſion to the recent diſgrace of the Duke of Marlborough, replied, That if it were ſo, it was to his Lordſhip he was indebted for the preeminence.

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by the parſimony of his expences. And he is known to have reſiſted with firmneſs and magnanimity the immenſe offers made to him in the name of Louis XIV. by the Marquis de Torcy at the conferences of Gertruydenberg. In the laſt years of his life he exhibited an affecting proof of the imbecility of human nature and the vanity of human greatneſs *—leaving upon the public mind an impreſſion of compaſſion, which the unexampled pomp of his funeral obſequies did not tend to weaken.

A vehement controverſy having recently ariſen on the ſubject of the Trinity, chiefly in conſequence of the learned tracts publiſhed in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed doctrine by the famous Profeſſor Whiſton, the Univerſity of Oxford in full convocation reſolved "that the ſolemn thanks of that body ſhould be returned to the Earl of Nottingham, for his moſt noble defence of the Catholic faith, contained in his anſwer to Mr. Whiſton's letter concerning the eternity of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghoſt." And at the inſtance of this theological Stateſman, a Bill was introduced into the Houſe of Peers for the ſuppreſſion of blaſphemy

* "In life's laſt ſcene what prodigies ſurpriſe!
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wiſe!
From Marlborough's eyes the ſtreams of dotage flow,
And Swift expires—a driveller and a ſhow."
Johnson's Im. of Juv. Sat. 10.

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and profaneneſs; which enacted, that if any one ſpoke or wrote againſt the being of a GOD, the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt or the Holy Ghoſt, the doctrine of the Trinity, the truth of the Chriſtian religion, or the divine inſpiration of the ſcriptures, he ſhould ſuffer impriſonment for an indefinite term, unleſs in a certain form preſcribed he ſhould publicly renounce and abjure his errors. And by a clauſe in this Bill, the Archbiſhops and Biſhops within their reſpective juriſdictions, and the Juſtices of Peace in their ſeveral counties at their quarter ſeſſion, were authorized to ſummon any Diſſenting Teacher, and to require his ſubſcription to a declaration of faith containing the articles above enumerated; and upon his refuſal, it was enacted, that he ſhould be *ipſo facto* deprived of the benefit of the Act of Toleration. The Lords being ſummoned on the ſecond reading of this Bill (May 1721), Dr. WAKE, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſealed his apoſtacy from the principles of civil and religious liberty, by moving to have it committed. Upon which Lord Onſlow roſe, and declared "that though he was himſelf zealouſly attached to the doctrines of the Church of England, he would never conſent to ſupport even the truth itſelf by perſecution; and he moved that the Bill might be THROWN OUT." He was ſeconded by the Duke of Wharton, who ſaid, that having been himſelf frequently accuſed of impiety and ir-

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religion *, he conceived that he could not more effectually vindicate his character from these imputations, than by opposing to the utmost a measure

* This is the Nobleman whose character is so happily delineated by POPE, in his Epistle to Lord Viscount Cobham:

—"WHARTON, the scorn and wonder of our days,
Whose ruling passion is the lust of praise,
Born with whate'er could win it from the wise;
Women and fools must like him—or he dies.
Though wondering Senates hung on all he spoke,
The club must hail him master of the joke.
Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?
He 'll shine a TULLY and a WILMOT too,
Thus with each gift of nature or of art,
And wanting nothing but an honest heart,
Grown all to all—from no one vice exempt,
And most contemptible, to shun contempt;
His passion still to covet general praise,
His life to forfeit it a thousand ways—
He dies sad outcast of each Church and State;
And, harder still—flagitious, yet not great."

There seems a remarkable resemblance between the character of this Nobleman and that of the last VILLIERS Duke of Buckingham, described with such masterly strokes of genius under the appellation of ZIMRI in Dryden's Absalom and Ahitophel, and like him,

"Beggar'd by fools—whom still he found too late;
He had his jest—and they had his estate."

On leaving England with a ruined constitution and fortune, he entered into the service of the Pretender then patronized by the Court of Madrid; and receiving, when in that city, a letter from his Sovereign the King of England, commanding his return

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meaſure ſo repugnant to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity. And taking a bible from his pocket, he excited the amazement of the Houſe by reading with much gravity many paſſages from the ſacred volume, containing exhortations to univerſal charity, meekneſs, and mutual forbearance. The Earl of Peterborough, with uncommon boldneſs and happineſs of expreſſion, declared, that though he was for a Parliamentary King, he was not for a Parliamentary God or a Parliamentary Religion; and that if this Bill were to paſs, he ſhould be ambitious of a ſeat in the Conclave of Cardinals, as more honorable than that which he occupied in the Britiſh Houſe of Peers. Dr. Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, proteſted, that he NEVER would be concerned in the execution of ſuch a law—and he earneſtly hoped that his brethren on the bench would not concur in the eſtabliſhment of a PROTESTANT INQUISITION. The Lords Cowper and Townſhend alſo ſpoke with much ability againſt this infamous and execrable Bill; by which a pretended regard for the honor of religion was, as uſual, made a pretext for the gratification of the

return home, he is ſaid to have thrown it ſcornfully out of the coach window. After running a rapid and aſtoniſhing career of profligacy and extravagance, he expired—" with not a friend to cloſe his eyes," at a convent near Terragona in Spain, A. D. 1731, when he had not completed the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

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moſt malignant paſſions—a Bill, which openly and impudently avowed and adopted the moſt profligate practices of the Romiſh church—and the principle of which, if once admitted, would lead to all the horrors of the rack, the ſtake, and the wheel*. It was on the other hand ſupported by the Earl of Nottingham, the Lords Bathurſt and Trevor,

* It has been juſtly obſerved, that every man diſclaims the character and appellation of a perſecutor. GARDINER and BONNER doubtleſs profeſſed themſelves animated, not by a ſpirit of perſecution, but of *holy zeal* for the preſervation of the Catholic faith in its genuine purity. And if the Earl of NOTTINGHAM had been left to decide upon the fate of the learned Profeſſor his antagoniſt, he might very poſſibly have had the *moderation and candor* to ſay, in the words of the well-known epiſtle of King James I. to the States of Holland, in relation to the famous Vorſtius, "that he would not preſume poſitively to pronounce what reſolutions it might be proper to take reſpecting him; but SURELY NEVER HERETIC BETTER DESERVED THE FLAMES." On account of his temporary junction with the Whigs during the adminiſtration of Oxford, the Earl of Nottingham is ſatirized in various *jeux-d'eſprit* of Swift, under the appellation of DISMAL. A humorous parody of the celebrated ſpeech of this Nobleman, in oppoſition to the Treaty of Utrecht, thus concludes:

"Since the Tories have thus diſappointed my hopes,
And will neither regard my figures nor tropes,
I'll *ſpeech* againſt peace while DISMAL's my name,
And be a true Whig, while I am—NOT-IN-GAME."

In the "Windſor Prophecy" he is ſtyled, in alluſion to his name and original title, Baron Finch of Daventry, "the tall black

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Trevor, the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Lichfield and Coventry, and various others. But on a diviſion, the Bill was rejected by a majority of ſixty voices againſt thirty-one.

At this period died Pope Clement XI. who had ſat in the papal chair above twenty years—a man reſpectable for his talents, but haughty, inflexible, and zealouſly devoted to the intereſts of the Houſe of Stuart. He was ſucceeded by Benedict XIII. of the Houſe of Conti.

Although the pernicious tendency of the continental connections of England had been the conſtant theme of Mr. Walpole's eloquence while in oppoſition to the Court, one of the firſt meaſures of his adminiſtration was to move for a ſubſidy to Sweden, with whom an alliance offenſive and defenſive had been juſt concluded—a Britiſh ſquadron being alſo at this very time cruiſing in the Baltic for the protection of that kingdom againſt the deſigns of Ruſſia. So that, as Lord Moleſworth obſerved, "We were not only required

black Daventry Bird." And in the ballad on the ſurrender of Dunkirk he is again complimented:

"Sunderland 's run out of his wits,
And DISMAL double-diſmal looks;
Wharton can only ſwear by fits,
And ſtrutting Hal is off the hooks.
Old Godolphin, full of ſpleen,
Made falſe moves and loſt his Queen."

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to aſſiſt the Swedes with whom we had been ſo long at variance, but to purchaſe at an enormous price the permiſſion to aſſiſt them. His Lordſhip affirmed, that our engagements were inconſiſtent and contradictory—that our politics were not only variable, but incomprehenſible to every man who, knowing merely the ſtate of Great Britain, was unapprized of the ſeveral petty intereſts of the Electorate, which were the ſecret ſprings of our tranſactions abroad—that we were in turn the allies and the dupes of all nations—that if ſuch ſolicitude for the reſtoration of the conqueſts made by Ruſſia upon Sweden were reaſonable, it was incumbent upon Hanover to ſet the example by the reſtoration of Bremen and Verden, and of Pruſſia our ally by that of Pomerania—that, whatever might be the connections or engagements of Hanover, Great Britain had neither any intereſt nor any right to intermeddle in the affairs of the Empire, and that the friendſhip or enmity of the powers of the Baltic was of little importance to England, as we procured nothing from the kingdoms of the North which we could not with more advantage import from our own colonies in America, were proper encouragement held out to them. His Lordſhip acknowledged that the diſtreſſed condition to which the Swedes were reduced would be really worthy of compaſſion, could we forget that they had been the authors in a great meaſure

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meaſure of their own misfortunes, by their tame ſubmiſſion to a deſpotic tyrannical Prince, who had ſacrificed their ſubſtance in purſuit of his raſh and unjuſt deſigns; and that any nation which followed their example deſerved the ſame fate.—His lordſhip touched on the affairs of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, which he inſinuated to have been the ſecret cauſe of the rupture with the Czar; and entered into a detail of the treaties of Roſchild and Travendahl, in order to ſhow how widely we had deviated from engagements of which we were ourſelves the guarantees. His Lordſhip ſaid he would go as far as any man to maintain and ſupport the honor and dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, but he would never conſent to ſquander, in the mode now recommended, what yet remained of the wealth and reſources of the nation." The vote of ſupply at length paſſed, not without much angry objection and difficulty. The terms of the treaty of peace with Spain alſo, when laid before Parliament (October 1721), underwent very ſevere cenſure. It was ſaid, that as the war was undertaken without provocation, ſo the peace was concluded without advantage — that the Spaniſh fleet had been attacked without any declaration of war, while amicable negotiations were carrying on at Madrid: and by an article of the treaty, we now ſubmitted to the reproachful condition of reſtoring the ſhips ſo captured, or of paying the full

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full value of thoſe previouſly diſpoſed of: that the trade with Spain, which conſtituted one of the moſt valuable branches of the Britiſh commerce, had been interrupted and endangered, and the intereſts of England wantonly and daringly ſacrificed to an obſtinate predilection for that Germanic ſyſtem of politics with which we had no national concern: that the navy debt was increaſed to an immenſe amount, by keeping ſeamen in pay in order to maintain fleets in the Mediterranean and the Baltic, not for the ſervice of Great Britain, but for the preſervation of the King's acquiſitions in the Empire. The Court however, now ſtrengthened by the recent coalition of the Whigs, ſet all oppoſition at defiance, and the new Miniſter ſoon proved himſelf ſuperior to all his predeceſſors in the art of adroit and dextrous parliamentary management.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion a ſingular petition was preſented to Parliament from that reſpectable claſs of citizens known by the appellation of Quakers. It is a well-known tenet of this ſect, diſtinguiſhed by its harmleſs peculiarities, that oaths even judicially adminiſtered are in their own nature unlawful; and the Legiſlature had long ſince wiſely and indulgently paſſed an Act to render their ſolemn affirmation in all matters of civil concern, equivalent to an oath. The object of the preſent application was the omiſſion of the words

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"in the preſence of Almighty GOD," in the legal form of that affirmation; it being juſtly alleged, that while thoſe words remained, the eſſence of an oath was preſerved. But to the penalties of perjury, ſhould this affirmation be in any inſtance violated, they profeſſed their willing and cheerful ſubmiſſion. The Court, ever ready under this reign to extend and eſtabliſh the civil and religious privileges of the ſubject, countenanced and ſupported this application, and a Bill for this purpoſe paſſed the Houſe of Commons without difficulty. But in its paſſage through the Houſe of Lords, the ſpirit of bigotry, now awakened from its tranſient ſlumber, diſplayed itſelf in all its malignity. Dr. Atterbury Biſhop of Rocheſter obſerved, that he knew not why ſuch a diſtinguiſhing mark of indulgence ſhould be allowed to a ſet of people who were hardly Chriſtians. And a petition was preſented by the Archbiſhop of York to the Houſe, from the London Clergy, "expreſſing a ſerious concern leſt the minds of good men ſhould be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Chriſtianity triumph, when they ſhould ſee ſuch condeſcenſion made by a Chriſtian Legiſlature to a ſet of men who renounce the divine inſtitutions of Chriſtianity, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into this religion, and denominated Chriſtians." This petition was rejected by the Houſe, not without ſymptoms of diſguſt and contempt: and the Bill finally paſſed, though

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though accompanied with a proteſt ſigned by ſeveral Lords eager to record their own diſgrace and folly.

The firſt Septennial Parliament of Great Britain was diſſolved March 1722, and early in the enſuing month of October the King opened the new Parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his concern in being obliged to inform them, that a dangerous conſpiracy had been for ſome time paſt formed, and was ſtill carrying on, againſt his perſon and government, in favor of the Pretender. His Majeſty declared that the diſcoveries made at home, the information obtained from his miniſters abroad, and the intelligence received from the various Powers in alliance with him in different parts of Europe, had afforded him ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked deſign. Some of the conſpirators were already, he added, ſecured, and endeavors uſed for apprehending others—and he referred to the wiſdom of Parliament the meaſures neceſſary to be taken for the ſafety of the kingdom—expreſſing at the ſame time his firm belief that the hopes and expectations of their common enemies were very ill founded, in ſuppoſing that the diſcontents occaſioned by the loſſes and misfortunes of individuals, however induſtriouſly fomented, were turned into diſaffection and a ſpirit of rebellion. "Had I, ſaid this monarch in very animated and dignified language, ſince my acceſſion to the throne ever attempted any inno-

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vation in our eſtabliſhed religion; had I in any one inſtance invaded the liberty or property of my ſubjects, I ſhould leſs wonder at any endeavor to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into meaſures that can end in nothing but their own deſtruction. But to hope to perſuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for ſlavery, the Proteſtant religion for Popery, and to ſacrifice at once the price of ſo much blood and treaſure as have been ſpent in defence of our preſent eſtabliſhment, ſeems an infatuation not to be accounted for.—Your own intereſt and welfare call upon you to defend yourſelves.—I rely upon the Divine protection, the ſupport of my Parliament, and the affections of my people, which I ſhall endeavor to preſerve by continuing to make the laws of the realm the rule and meaſure of all my actions." On the communication of this intelligence, a very great and general alarm was excited in the nation. A conſiderable augmentation of the forces was immediately voted; the Habeas-corpus Act was ſuſpended, contrary to all precedent, for no leſs than twelve months. On the requiſition of the King, a body of troops was held by the States-General in readineſs to embark from Holland, and ſix regiments were likewiſe ordered from Ireland. And both Houſes joined in expreſſing the ſtrongeſt deteſtation and abhorrence of this "traitorous and unnatural

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unnatural conſpiracy." Mr. Walpole affirmed to the Houſe, that this wicked deſign was formed about Chriſtmas laſt: that the conſpirators had made application to certain foreign potentates for troops; but being diſappointed in their expectation from abroad, they had reſolved deſperately to go on, confiding in their own ſtrength, and fondly depending upon the general diſcontent and confuſion excited by the failure of the fatal South-Sea project: that the plan was to ſeize upon the Tower, the Bank, and the Exchequer, and to ſecure by violence the perſons of the King and the Prince: that Government had received information of this plot ever ſince May laſt: but two terms coming at that time together, it was thought adviſable to poſtpone the apprehending of the conſpirators till the long vacation, that no advantage might be taken of the Habeas-corpus Act. An exact account of this deteſtable conſpiracy he aſſured the Houſe would in time be laid before them." But the plot itſelf ſeems to have been diſcovered while yet in embryo, and it is probable that no regular project of invaſion or inſurrection had been digeſted or matured; nor have the circumſtances explanatory either of its nature or extent ever been clearly developed. Various perſons, however, of high diſtinction, amongſt whom were the Duke of Norfolk and the Lords Orrery, North, and Grey, were apprehended on a very ſtrong preſumption of their

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concurrence in this conſpiracy. Pains and penalties were inflicted by Act of Parliament on ſeveral of the conſpirators. But one only ſuffered capital puniſhment—Chriſtopher Layer, a Barriſter of the Temple, convicted of high treaſon in enliſting men for the ſervice of the Pretender. He was repeatedly reprieved, and much endeavor was uſed to procure from him a full confeſſion; but he perſiſted in a reſolute refuſal. Beyond compariſon, however, the trial which attracted moſt of the public attention was that of the celebrated Atterbury Biſhop of Rocheſter, who was found to be a party in this conſpiracy, or at leaſt confidentially privy to it: and he was, by a Bill which paſſed both Houſes by great majorities, deprived of his epiſcopal dignity, and ſentenced to perpetual baniſhment. Mr. Yonge, the mover of the Bill, declared this Prelate to be a diſgrace and diſhonor to a Church conſpicuous for its loyalty; that his holy function and elevated ſtation, with the ſolemn oaths he had taken, were the moſt unpardonable aggravations of his crime; and he concluded with applying to him the denunciation authorized by warrant of holy writ—"Let his habitation be deſolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his biſhopric let another take." The declaration of the Pretender, framed for the occaſion, and dated from Lucca, was by both Houſes voted to be a falſe, inſolent, and traitorous libel, and ordered

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dered to be burnt at the Royal Exchange. In this declaration the Pretender, with ſingular modeſty and all the appearance of gravity, propoſed, that if King George would relinquiſh to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return conſent to his retaining the title of King in his native dominions, and would invite all other States to confirm it: and he likewiſe moſt graciouſly engaged to leave to King George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever, in due courſe, his natural right ſhould take place. An addreſs was preſented to the Throne by the two Houſes, expreſſing their "aſtoniſhment at the extravagant preſumption of this declaration, and repeating their aſſurances to ſupport his Majeſty againſt the impotent efforts of an attainted fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and ſuperſtition." The proofs in ſupport of the charge againſt the Biſhop of Rocheſter being ſomewhat deficient in legal preciſion, though ſufficiently clear to induce an entire conviction of his guilt, much clamor was excited by the Bill of Baniſhment paſſed by the Commons againſt him; though, had not a ſpirit of lenity pervaded the proceedings of Government on this occaſion, he would ſcarcely have eſcaped a Bill of Attainder. When it came under the diſcuſſion of the Lords, the Duke of Wharton, in a ſpeech of uncommon ability, expoſed what he ſtyled the weakneſs, inſufficiency,

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and contradiction of the evidence againſt the Biſhop; and added, that ſuch proceedings, like the ſtone of Siſyphus, frequently rolled back on thoſe who were the chief promoters of them. Lord Cowper, now in oppoſition to the Court, enlarged much on the danger and injuſtice of ſwerving from the fixed rules of evidence. He affirmed, "that the penalties inflicted by this Bill were either much greater or much leſs than the Biſhop deſerved; that whatever might be the nature or extent of the accuſation, the law of the land and the eſtabliſhed forms of judicial procedure ought to be ſtrictly adhered to, not only in the courts below, but in the high court of Parliament itſelf; that every Engliſhman had a right to a trial by law; that this was in a more eſpecial manner the privilege of a Peer of the Realm. And the political neceſſity which was alleged in vindication of this meaſure he did not believe to exiſt; the Government was ſufficiently ſecured by the powers veſted in the Crown in conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas-corpus Act, and the additional troops raiſed for its defence." And Lord Bathurſt, in the courſe of an eloquent ſpeech on the ſame ſide, turning to the Bench of Biſhops, ſarcaſtically remarked, "that he could not account for the inveterate hatred and malice which ſome perſons bore the learned and ingenious Biſhop of Rocheſter, unleſs they were intoxicated with the infatuation

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infatuation of certain tribes of ſavage Indians, who believed they inherited not only the ſpoils but even the abilities of any great enemy whom they killed in battle." Notwithſtanding the reaſonings of Lord Cowper, it ſeems erroneous and unſafe to deny the general poſition, that deviations from the eſtabliſhed forms of judicial procedure in extraordinary caſes are juſtifiable, and even neceſſary, where the public ſafety is concerned—provided that the executive juſtice of the State depart not from that *ſubſtantial juſtice* which is founded in the nature of things. So entirely oppoſite were now the politics of France from thoſe which had prevailed in the late reign, that upon this occaſion the Regent offered twenty battalions of veteran troops to the King of Great Britain, in order to defend his perſon and government againſt the attempts of that family which Louis XIV. had employed the whole force of his kingdom to protect and reſtore—but this offer it was judged prudent to decline.

That the vengeful and mercileſs ſpirit by which the Whigs had been actuated when firſt reſtored to power, was now, notwithſtanding the pretended rigor of the late proceedings, moſt ſenſibly abated, the reverſal at this period of the Act of Attainder paſſed againſt Lord Bolingbroke is a deciſive proof. The Biſhop of Rocheſter, on his arrival at Calais, hearing that Lord Bolingbroke was waiting there for a paſſage, exclaimed, with an

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an emotion from which much was inferred, "Then we are exchanged." This nobleman, however, though reſtored to his honors and paternal eſtate, was ſtill excluded from a ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, through the inflexible oppoſition of the Miniſter, who clearly diſcerned and dreaded the conſequences which might eventually reſult from the irreſiſtible force of his eloquence and talents, when exerted in that grand field of action. Fired with ambition to reſume his former ſtation in public life, and a philoſopher only through neceſſity, he cheriſhed a fixed and mortal reſentment againſt Sir Robert Walpole; and, regardleſs of his recent obligations, in a ſhort time joined with eagerneſs that oppoſition to his adminiſtration, ſo celebrated for the abilities of its members, and which began now to aſſume a regular and ſyſtematic form. The chagrin of Lord Bolingbroke was undoubtedly enhanced by ſeeing his former coadjutors in office, Lord Oxford and Lord Harcourt, in full poſſeſſion of thoſe high privileges which he vainly and inceſſantly pined to regain. The latter of theſe noblemen was even received into an high degree of favor at Court; which, it is ſaid, occaſioning ſome ſevere reflections from the paſſionate lips of Atterbury, Lord Harcourt was provoked to retaliate, by declaring, that on the Queen's death the Biſhop came to him and Lord Bolingbroke, and ſaid, nothing remained but immediately to proclaim King JAMES—offering,

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ing, if they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn ſleeves, and head the proceſſion *.

Early

* This celebrated Prelate, his learned friend Dr. Smalridge, on preſenting him, A. D. 1710, to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, as Prolocutor, moſt elegantly ſtyles, "Vir in nullo literarum genere hoſpes, in pleriſque artibus et ſtudiis diu et feliciter exercitatus—in maxime perfectis literarum diſciplinis perfectiſſimus." His eloquence and learning, none, indeed, have preſumed to diſpute; and his public character has all that dignity which ariſes from firmneſs and conſiſtency. Of the violence and virulence of his temper he gave early proof in his reply to the famous treatiſe of Dr. WAKE, "On the Authority of Chriſtian Princes, and the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of Convocations:" "Were (ſays he) all that Dr. Wake affirms ſtrictly true and juſtifiable; yet whether laboring the point ſo heartily as he does, and ſhewing himſelf to be ſo willing to prove the Church to have no rights and privileges, be a very decent part in a clergyman, I leave his friends to conſider. But when all a man advances is not only ill-deſigned, but ill-founded, and his principles are as falſe as they are ſcandalous, there are no names and cenſures too bad to be beſtowed on ſuch writers and their writings." One cannot ſufficiently admire the effrontery of the inſinuation, that whether the AUTHORITY claimed by the Church be well or ill-founded, it is at all events incumbent on the clergy, *as ſuch*, to defend and ſupport it. For this performance an honorary degree was conferred upon Atterbury by the Univerſity of Oxford. But in animadverting upon it, Biſhop Burnet happily remarks, "that the applauſe with which it was received, when the temper and ſpirit with which it is written are conſidered, forms a much ſtronger argument againſt the expediency of a Convocation, than any he brings or can bring in favor of it." And Dr. Wake himſelf declared, "that ſuch a ſpirit of wrath and uncharitableneſs pervaded the whole

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Early in the preſent ſeſſion, a Bill which occupied much of the attention of Parliament, and was kept long depending in the Houſe, was introduced and ſupported by the Miniſter, for levying the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds on the eſtates of all Roman Catholics, upon pretext of "the conſtant

whole book, as he had hardly ever met with before; though, to do no injuſtice to his adverſary, he admits that Dr. Atterbury has done all that a man of parts and zeal could do, to defend the cauſe he has eſpouſed. One thing only was wanting: He had not TRUTH on his ſide—his work is a MERE ROMANCE." In 1703, when the principles of Whiggiſm began to predominate, Hooper Dean of Canterbury, a man diſtinguiſhed by the ſteadineſs of his attachment to them, was, by an unexpected and unſolicited nomination, raiſed to the biſhopric of St. Aſaph, "with a view (as Dr. Atterbury tells his friend Trelawney Biſhop of Exeter), as he ſuppoſes, to take the lead in the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs; in which caſe, ſays he, I am ſure to be oppreſſed and kept under, as much as if Archbiſhop Tillotſon were alive and at the helm—a very ill return for my making that *ſcuffle* which ſet him at the head of the lower clergy." But ſurely this was a ground of obligation, on which few perſons would have thought of founding a claim of gratitude. In June 1713, the Tories being now triumphant, Dr. Atterbury was advanced to the biſhopric of Rocheſter. His ſanguine hopes of attaining to the primacy were however quickly blaſted, by the death of the Queen; and at the acceſſion of King George I. he engaged, with all the fervor of party rage and diſappointed ambition, in the moſt violent meaſures of the Oppoſition; and was at length inſtigated by paſſion and revenge, to embark in a wild and ill-conducted conſpiracy, which terminated in his ruin. He died at Paris, Feb. 1732.

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endeavors of the Papiſts to ſubvert the preſent happy eſtabliſhment; though he profeſſed that he would not take upon him to charge any particular perſon among them, with being concerned in the preſent *horrid conſpiracy*. But it was well known, that many of them had been engaged in the *late* rebellion; and the preſent plot, he averred, was contrived at Rome, and the Engliſh Catholics were not only well-wiſhers to it, but had contributed large ſums to carry it on. And he thought it highly reaſonable, that the fomenters of the public diſturbances ſhould themſelves bear the chief ſhare of the burdens, which muſt be neceſſarily incurred for their ſuppreſſion." This propoſition was hearkened to with extreme diſapprobation, and incurred heavy cenſure, not only from the partiſans of the Tory and Jacobite factions, but from many of the moſt enlightened and intelligent members of the Houſe. And it was ſo ably combated by Mr. Lutwyche in particular, in a ſpeech delivered on the motion of commitment, as to merit a diſtinct and moſt honorable tranſmiſſion for the inſtruction of ſucceeding times.

"The Gentlemen (ſaid this excellent citizen and ſenator) who have ſpoken in favor of this Bill, have urged the invariable and inveterate enmity of the Catholics againſt the preſent eſtabliſhment; and have aſſerted, that if they did not ſhew themſelves openly againſt the Government in the late

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conſpiracy, it proceeded from motives of prudence; and not for want of zeal in the Pretender's cauſe. A general charge of this kind may, indeed, form a ſufficient ground for *a preamble* to a Bill of this nature; but the enacting part ought to be ſupported by ſpecific facts, clearly and plainly proved; otherwiſe we may involve the innocent in a puniſhment due only to the guilty. Becauſe *ſome* of the Roman Catholics are *ſuſpected* to have been concerned in this conſpiracy, ſhall the whole body be not only charged with the guilt, but actually ſuffer the penalty? The law ſuppoſes every man to be accountable for his own actions, and doth not require what is in no man's power to perform—that he ſhould be anſwerable for the conduct of another. As to the diſaffection of the Catholics in the preſent inſtance, I appeal to the Houſe whether any mention is made in the Report, of any Roman Catholic of eminence, except a noble Duke, to whom a letter is ſuppoſed to have been written, implying his knowledge and approbation of the conſpiracy. How unjuſt then, upon ſo ſlender a ſuſpicion, to inflict the ſeverities enacted by this law, upon numerous innocent families who harbor no dangerous deſigns, and wiſh for no political revolution! If you abandon the ground of diſaffection, and make their religion, ſuppoſed ſo inimical to that eſtabliſhed in this country, the pretext for this meaſure; it is a ſpecies of perſecution odious in itſelf,

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itſelf, incompatible with the honor of the legiſlature, and deſtructive of the freedom and happineſs of the ſubject. Let it not be ſaid, that his Majeſty's mild and gracious reign has been blemiſhed by an act ſo rigorous, of which the evident tendency is to confirm the obſtinate in their errors, and alienate the affections of the well-diſpoſed. There has been, indeed, a political reaſon aſſigned for this meaſure, deduced from its expediency; and it is ſaid to be indeed to deter the Jacobites abroad from raſh enterpriſes, by making their friends here pay the expence which the nation finds neceſſary for its ſecurity. As this is a reaſon founded on mere ſpeculation, I will venture to oppoſe one conjecture to another. And it is my opinion, that as the claims of the Pretender are in themſelves unfounded and unjuſt, his only hope of ſucceſs can be derived from the diſcontents of the people; the more ground, therefore, there is for complaint, the better proſpect he has of ſucceſs, and the wider ſcope will be afforded to the Jacobites, to aggravate the errors and faults of the government. If the peaceable and quiet behavior of the Catholics does not entitle them to the protection of the law—if the principle on which this Bill is founded be in future adopted as juſt and equitable—if the moſt dutiful and unreſerved ſubmiſſion cannot exempt them from criminal imputations, and even from the penalties

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of open ſedition and rebellion, will they not embrace any opportunity to free themſelves from this intolerable tyranny, thinking that under no form of government they can receive worſe treatment? It is alleged that, for many years paſt, the legal impoſitions have not been levied from the Catholics; and that a much larger ſum than the preſent is actually due from them, if the forfeitures were rigorouſly exacted. The fact I will not diſpute; but the queſtion to be reſolved is—Why do you now change your lenity into cruelty? The executive government, it is evident, conceived the terrors of the penal code to be intended for ſecurity, not revenge. And in conſequence of the peaceable demeanor of the Catholics, theſe acts were virtually ſuſpended. If theſe ſtatutes were, therefore, juſtly and wiſely diſpenſed with before, why are they to be put in execution now? At the æra of the Revolution, the Roman Catholics were far more numerous and powerful than at preſent. It was well known that they held correſpondence, and were deeply engaged in the intereſts of King James, who was openly ſupported by France. At that period, the competition for the Crown was indeed of a ſerious nature, and greatly different from that originating from the wild and extravagant pretenſions of a forlorn fugitive, expelled from all the courts of Europe, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter and ſanctuary at Rome. But King

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King WILLIAM, though warned of the dangers of his ſituation, fully appriſed of the ſeverity of the laws enacted againſt the Papiſts, and repeatedly urged to carry them into ſtrict execution, reſolutely and conſtantly refuſed compliance. That great Monarch knew that no free State could long ſubſiſt in a departure from the rules of equal and impartial juſtice. It has been ſaid, that the liberties of England can never be in danger, but from the Roman Catholics: the truth is, that the chief danger ariſes from the diviſions and animoſities ſubſiſting between the various denominations of Proteſtants in this country—animoſities ariſing from an erroneous and contracted policy, and perpetuated by artful and ambitious leaders for their own purpoſes, by exciting unneceſſary fears and groundleſs jealouſies. I know, ſaid this enlightened ſenator, no better rule of government, than to puniſh the guilty, and to protect the innocent—but precipitately to treat as criminal a body of men, becauſe you ſuſpect them to be guilty, when farther inquiry and better information may prove them to be innocent, is no very ſatisfactory mode of diſplaying the impartiality of your proceedings. Conſidering the great vigilance of the miniſtry, and their diligence in unravelling the moſt ſubtle contrivances of the conſpirators, I think it very unlikely that any conſiderable foreign remittances made by the Roman Catholics ſhould have eſcaped their

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notice. To ſingle out one ſet of men, therefore, and upon a mere ſuppoſition to inflict penalties upon them, which the cleareſt proof of guilt only could warrant, is an act impoſſible to reconcile to that juſtice and equity which ought invariably to guide and direct the proceedings of this aſſembly."

This iniquitous Bill, which was, in its progreſs through the Houſe, extended to all Nonjurors, notwithſtanding theſe irrefragable reaſonings, finally paſſed by a majority of 217 againſt 168 voices, and received the royal aſſent; on which occaſion a ſpeech was made by Sir Spencer Compton, the Speaker, ſhewing, or at leaſt endeavoring to ſhew, the policy and neceſſity of this meaſure, from the countenance and ſupport given by the Papiſts and Nonjurors to the "late horrid and execrable conſpiracy." As no oppreſſion, however, of a ſimilar nature was afterwards attempted, there is reaſon to believe that the generous efforts now made in the cauſe of juſtice and humanity were not wholly loſt. And if the magnitude of the ſubject may be deemed not ſuch as to require ſo particular a detail, it ought to be remarked, that the arguments of Mr. Lutwyche are not of a temporary or local kind, but compriſe truths of univerſal and perpetual importance and obligation.

On the 27th of May 1723, an end was put to this long and intereſting Seſſion by a ſpeech from

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from the throne; in which his Majeſty expreſſed in warm terms "his ſatisfaction at the proceedings of the Parliament, and in particular at thoſe exertions of legiſlative authority which were neceſſary in this criſis of danger, for the puniſhment of offenders, whoſe guilt there was no room to doubt, but whoſe wicked arts and practices had been brought to ſuch perfection, that they confidently carried on their traitorous projects in defiance of the law, from an aſſurance of being able to elude it. Some EXTRAORDINARY AFFAIRS, his Majeſty added, calling him abroad this ſummer, he doubted not but that the wiſdom and vigilance of his good ſubjects would prevent their common enemies from taking advantage of his abſence: and that they will at length ceaſe to flatter themſelves with the vain imagination of being able to ſubvert our religion and preſent eſtabliſhment."

About this period, Philip V. King of Spain, yielding himſelf up without reſerve to vain and ſuperſtitious fervors of devotion, retired to the monaſtery of St. Ildefonſo; whence he made a ſolemn renunciation of the crowns of Caſtile and Arragon, in favor of his eldeſt ſon, Don Louis, Prince of Aſturias—"committing him and his people to the powerful protection of the HOLY VIRGIN," under whoſe auſpices the young Prince ventured to aſſume the reins of government, without the uſual formality of aſſembling the

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Cortez. But, dying ſoon after his elevation to the throne, the abdicated monarch was reluctantly prevailed upon again to encounter the cares and burdens of royalty. Devoting himſelf, nevertheleſs, entirely to monkiſh exerciſes of religion, the taſk of government devolved upon the Queen; whoſe influence in the Spaniſh counſels had been, for ſome time paſt, very conſpicuous.

The public tranquillity being now perfectly reſtored, the King put in execution his reſolution to reviſit his dominions on the Continent, where new and unexpected political connections and combinations were taking place, by no means favorable to the views and wiſhes of his Britannic Majeſty. The enmity between Ruſſia and Sweden had been at length terminated by a treaty concluded at Nyſtad, A. D. 1721; conformably to which, the fertile and extenſive provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Eſthonia, and Carelia, were confirmed to Ruſſia, and the barren deſerts of Finland, only, reſtored to Sweden. This peace was quickly matured into an union of counſels and deſigns, which gave extreme umbrage and uneaſineſs to the King of England; who, having ground to believe the immediate object of this coalition to be the reſtoration of the Duchy of Sleſwic to the Duke of Holſtein, trembled for the ſafety of his favorite and contiguous acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden —the ſecurity of all theſe poſſeſſions reſting only on

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on the tottering baſis of the mutual guarantee of Denmark and Hanover. After a ſhort interval of anxious ſuſpenſe, it was aſcertained that the treaty of Stockholm, ſigned February 1724, contained in it a ſecret article, by which the high contracting parties obliged themſelves "in the moſt effectual manner to uſe their *good offices* for the reſtoring the Duke of Holſtein—who was nearly related to both—to the Duchy of Sleſwic; and if theſe proved ineffectual, *other methods ſhould be thought of.* In particular, application ſhould be made to the powers who ſtood engaged with them to guarantee the ſaid Duchy to the ſaid Duke, of whom England by the treaty of Travendahl was one—leaving it more immediately to his IMPERIAL MAJESTY, to concert ſuch meaſures as might with the greateſt ſecurity for ever cut off this ſource of ſuch *infinite troubles* to the North." A viſible coldneſs had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the King of England and the Emperor, who in every inſtance oppoſed, as far as he could venture to oppoſe, the aſpiring views of the Houſe of Lunenburg; and who perſiſted in his refuſal to grant the inveſtiture of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, but upon terms with which the King of England perſiſted in his refuſal to comply—the Emperor requiring, as it is ſaid, on his part, "a refreſhing fee" to an enormous amount; and his Britannic Majeſty being anxiouſly deſirous, in contrariety to the poſitive conſtitutions of the Empire, and the peremptory

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declarations of the Emperor, to include the imperial city of Bremen in the new inveſtiture. Unfortunately alſo, an Imperial Eaſt-India Company had been recently eſtabliſhed at Oſtend, which was viewed, both by England and Holland, with the malignant eyes of commercial jealouſy. A vote, and, in the ſequel, an Act, paſſed in the Britiſh Parliament, declaring it to be an high crime and miſdemeanor for any ſubject of Great Britain in any manner to engage in or countenance this undertaking; and repeated remonſtrances, much more urgent than reaſonable, were made by the Engliſh miniſtry, to induce the Emperor to abandon this enterpriſe.

During this ſtate of things in Europe died Philip Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, the firm and faithful ally of the King of England *. This Prince was poſſeſſed of ſhining talents, which were nevertheleſs greatly clouded and obſcured by an extravagant propenſity to pleaſure, which he indulged without reſerve or decorum. From the love of fame incident to an elevated mind, he was anxious that his conduct ſhould appear in a favorable light to poſterity, and had formed a ſerious reſolution of convoking the Eſtates-General of the kingdom, for the purpoſe of effecting a grand reformation in the State, from which he was with difficulty diverted by his confidential miniſter and

* December 2, 1722.

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favorite the Cardinal Dubois *. The Regent frequently expreſſed his indignation at the wretched ſtate of political degradation to which France was reduced; declaring that, had he been born a commoner, he would have defended the cauſe of liberty againſt the oppreſſion of the Government. But his voluptuous life and the profligacy of his morals were totally incompatible with the predominance of public virtue or public ſpirit in his counſels. Under the adminiſtration of the Duke of Bourbon, his ſucceſſor, the ſame good underſtanding ſeemed to ſubſiſt between the Crowns of Great Britain and France; and both Courts viewed with equal aſtoniſhment and apprehenſion the ſudden termination of the long and deeply-rooted animoſity of the Emperor and the King of Spain by a treaty concluded at Vienna, April 1725; in conformity to which, Spain became guarantee of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, according to the PRAGMATIC SANCTION †. Such was the appellation

* On this man, the abandoned high-prieſt and companion of the nocturnal orgies of the Regent, the following epitaph was written:

ROME rougit d'avoir rougi
Le maquereau qui git ici.

† The term "pragmatic," univerſally applied to this famous edict, is uſed in a ſenſe ſo uncommon, that it may be pardonable, *en paſſant*, to remark its derivation from the Greek πραγματικος, carrying with it the complex meaning of a public and weighty ſanction.

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given to the Imperial edict, confirmed and ratified by the Diet of the Empire, by which the vaſt dominions of that Houſe were declared to be a perpetual and indiviſible ſcoffment limited to the heirs-general of the preſent Emperor. And the Emperor, on his part, granted the inveſtiture of the Duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to the eldeſt ſon of Philip V. by his preſent Queen, in default of heirs in the actual poſſeſſors. High offence had been recently given by the Court of Verſailles to the Court of Madrid, by the diſmiſſal of the young Infanta of Spain, affianced to the King of France, but to whom that monarch had conceived a diſlike approaching to averſion. The Spaniſh Court not only in the firſt emotions of its anger ſent back to France Mademoiſelle de Beaujolois, daughter of the late Regent, and betrothed to Don Carlos, ſecond ſon of his Catholic Majeſty; but offered, in its eager ſolicitude of revenge, to adjuſt all exiſting differences with the Emperor, under the ſole mediation of Great Britain. But at this propoſition, ſo flattering and advantageous in various reſpects, the King of England was compelled to heſitate; knowing that this mediation could not be accepted without exciting the extreme umbrage and jealouſy of France; and the treaty was ſuddenly and unexpectedly ſigned without the intervention of any other Power. To this treaty the Court of Peterſburg,

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after an interval of deliberation and delay, acceded: and military preparations were made by all theſe Courts, which were ſuppoſed to indicate farther deſigns than it was yet thought proper to avow.

To counterbalance the weight of this confederacy, a ſimilar treaty of alliance was ſigned at Hanover, Sept. 1725, between England, France, Denmark, and Pruſſia; to which Holland and Sweden afterwards acceded. When this treaty was communicated to the Engliſh Parliament, which met January 1726, after two ſucceſſive quiet and tranquil ſeſſions demanding no diſtinct hiſtoric notice, it was ſtrongly urged, "that the Britiſh nation would be eventually engaged by it in a war for the defence of the King's German dominions, contrary to an expreſs proviſion made in the Act of Settlement, which, as the baſis the preſent family reſted their title to the Crown upon, ought to be held ſacred and inviolable. And the whole ſcope and tenor of it was ſaid to be diametrically oppoſed to the uniform policy of Great Britain for a long ſucceſſion of years. For by this treaty we had abandoned an alliance upon which the balance of power in Europe, and the preſervation of its liberties, were generally and juſtly believed to depend; and with unexampled eagerneſs and aſſiduity of folly had ſolicited the friendſhip of a nation, whoſe views and intereſts ſtood in direct oppoſition no leſs to thoſe of England than of the Houſe of Auſtria." Mr. Horace Walpole,

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Walpole, brother to the Miniſter, and much employed, and confided in, by him in all foreign tranſactions, and who had been the chief negotiator of this treaty, undertook to obviate all objections to it in a ſtudied and elaborate harangue, in which he explained to the Houſe at great length the different ſituations and intereſts of the principal States of Europe, from the peace of Utrecht to the preſent time. This Miniſter aſſured the Houſe, "that the conſtant care and endeavor of his Majeſty, ſince his happy acceſſion to the throne, had been to ſecure the tranquillity of Chriſtendom, to promote the honor and intereſt of his kingdoms, and ſettle the balance of power in Europe on a ſolid foundation. With theſe great and laudable views, he ſaid, his Majeſty had aſſumed the character both of mediator and guarantee of the Barrier Treaty concluded in 1715, and of the convention by which it was ſubſequently confirmed between the Emperor and the States. Actuated by the ſame motives, he had in 1716 ſigned a defenſive alliance with the Emperor, and in 1717 another with the Moſt Chriſtian King and the States-General. In order to fortify theſe treaties, and more effectually to ſecure the repoſe of Europe, the King had in 1718 made a convention with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, for propoſing ultimate conditions of peace between the Emperor and Spain; and alſo between his Imperial Majeſty and the

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the then King of Sicily. That this treaty was followed, after a very ſhort interval, by a treaty of alliance between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the Republic of Holland; whence this treaty derived its popular appellation of the Quadruple Alliance. That within a few months the King of Sicily was admitted as a party to this treaty; and at length the King of Spain himſelf was compelled to accede to the terms of it, which was mainly owing to the generous aſſiſtance his Britannic Majeſty gave to the Emperor in the Mediterranean; that the remaining points in diſpute between their Imperial and Catholic Majeſties were referred to the deciſion of a Congreſs opened at Cambray. After an unſucceſsful negotiation of three years the Congreſs was ſuddenly diſſolved, upon advice that the Emperor and King of Spain had adjuſted their differences, by a ſeparate treaty concluded at Vienna. That this unexpected event had occaſioned no little ſurmiſe and alarm; and had raiſed jealouſies which a more perfect knowledge of this tranſaction had fully juſtified. That this treaty of peace was followed by a treaty of commerce, the principal object of which was the eſtabliſhment of an India Company at Oſtend, in violation of our rights, and to the ruin of our trade. That the remonſtrances made by his Majeſty's Miniſters at the Courts of Vienna and Madrid had been received by

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by the Miniſters of his Catholic Majeſty with coldneſs, and by thoſe of his Imperial Majeſty with the utmoſt haughtineſs; inſomuch that they ſcrupled not to inſinuate, that if his Britannic Majeſty perſiſted in adopting reſolutions hoſtile to the treaty of Vienna, his Imperial Majeſty would think himſelf diſengaged from the guarantee of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion to the Crown of Great Britain. And they had even gone ſo far as to affirm, that ſuch meaſures might be attended with diſagreeable conſequences in relation to his Majeſty's dominions in Germany. Such however was the firmneſs of his Majeſty, that no impreſſion could be made on him by theſe menaces; nor was he by any ſuggeſtions to be deterred from concerting with other Powers the means of counteracting the ambitious views of this formidable alliance. And this was the more neceſſary, becauſe there were juſt grounds to believe that this extraordinary and unexpected reconciliation was owing to the fixed and favorite purpoſe of the Houſe of Auſtria, of rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might be *ſuppoſed* that the treaty of Vienna was to be cemented by a marriage between the Emperor's eldeſt daughter and the Infant Don Carlos. Who did not foreſee the fatal conſequences of this conjunction? The iſſue of ſuch a marriage might in time inherit, not only the Imperial Crown, and the

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the vaſt hereditary dominions of the Auſtrian family, but the entire monarchy of Spain with its appendages, which would entirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of Europe wholly precarious. If this was not within the contemplation of theſe two monarchs, how would any one undertake to account for the extenſive privileges beſtowed by the King of Spain, in contravention of his moſt ſolemn treaties with Great Britain, upon the Emperor's ſubjects in the Netherlands; or for the Emperor's ſo far forgetting his obligations to England and Holland, as to perſiſt in ſupporting the Oſtend Company, eſtabliſhed with no other view than to diſtreſs the maritime Powers? or for his engaging to aſſiſt the King of Spain in the recovery of Minorca and Gibraltar? In order to put a timely ſtop to the progreſs of ſuch alarming and dangerous deſigns, his Majeſty had, *in his great wiſdom*, entered into a defenſive alliance with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the King of Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other Powers, and particularly the States-General, were invited to accede: that the grand deſign of this alliance was to maintain the tranquillity of Chriſtendom and the balance of power, and the reſpective rights and immunities of all nations, particularly thoſe relating to commerce: and that his Majeſty, ever attentive to the ſupport and protection of the Proteſtant intereſt, had engaged, by a ſepa-

a ſeparate article of this treaty, the Moſt Chriſtian King and the King of Pruſſia, who together with his Majeſty were guarantees of the treaty of Oliva, concluded between the Crowns of Poland and Sweden, A. D. 1660, to interpoſe in behalf of our diſtreſſed Proteſtant brethren in Poland; and to cauſe reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorne, contrary to the ſtipulations of that treaty. And he concluded with paſſing very laviſh encomiums on the wiſdom, vigilance, ſteadineſs, and reſolution of his Majeſty, in the conduct of all theſe weighty and important affairs."

The Houſe, no doubt completely enlightened and convinced by the perſpicuity of this ſtatement and the force of theſe reaſonings, and admiring the beautiful harmony with which theſe complicated, multifarious, and ſeemingly diſſonant treaties, alliances, and conventions, concurred in promoting the intereſt of Great Britain, with a ſingle eye to which they were ſo demonſtrably concluded, voted by a prodigious majority, *viz.* 285 againſt 107, an addreſs to the King, declaratory of the higheſt approbation of the treaty of Hanover; and expreſſive of the unfeigned gratitude of the Houſe, for the meaſures ſo wiſely concerted by his Majeſty for obviating and diſappointing the dangerous views of the Emperor and the King of Spain; and reprobating the treaty of commerce concluded between thoſe Powers, as "calculated for the entire deſtruction

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of the Britiſh trade; and aſſuring his Majeſty, that, in vindication of the honor of the Britiſh Crown, the Houſe will effectually ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks that any Power, in reſentment of the meaſures ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make upon any of his Majeſty's territories, though not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain." This unexpected revolution in the general politics of Europe was chiefly effected through the inſtrumentality of the famous M. de Ripperda, a native of Holland; who, from the condition of a private gentleman, was advanced, after the fall of Alberoni, to the rank of a Grandee of Spain, and ſucceeded to the poſt of Prime Miniſter. He was inſpired by a kindred genius, and proſecuted the ſame projects of aggrandiſement by different means. Finding the power of England the grand and perpetual obſtacle to the accompliſhment of his deſigns, he frequently indulged himſelf in very indiſcreet and paſſionate expreſſions of reſentment, and openly affirmed that the intereſts of Europe required the reſtoration of the Houſe of Stuart. After the concluſion of the treaty of Hanover, he haughtily exclaimed, "Well, well, we ſhall teach theſe petty gentlemen (meaning the Electors of Hanover and Brandenburg) to make treaties!" And he was frequently accuſtomed to ſay, that Cardinal Alberoni made a falſe ſtep, in ſending that fleet to Sicily, which he

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he ought to have ſent to England. In a memorial addreſſed by Colonel Stanhope *, the Britiſh Miniſter at Madrid, to the Spaniſh Secretary of State, the Marquis de la Paz, at a ſubſequent period, heavy complaints are made of the inſolent diſcourſes of the Duc de Ripperda during his embaſſy at Vienna; "There can be no ſtronger proof (ſaid the Engliſh Miniſter) of their Catholic Majeſties' approbation of M. de Ripperda's behavior, than the great honors to which they promoted him, and the entire truſt they conferred upon him, at his return to Madrid. And as what he had given out at Vienna, relative to Gibraltar, was verified by the peremptory demand of that fortreſs; ſo from that time meaſures were taken, to make good what he had likewiſe ſaid there, that the King ſhould be driven out of his dominions, and the Pretender placed upon the throne of Great Britain. It is freely left to the judgment of every impartial perſon, that he who declared there was a ſecret offenſive alliance, was actually Prime Miniſter to his Catholic Majeſty, who honored him with his entire confidence—that it was he who had himſelf made the treaties of Vienna—that he never denied making ſuch declaration, when it was publicly talked of; and that he was never

* Afterwards created Earl of Harrington; and who, on his return from this embaſſy, ſucceeded Lord Townſhend in the poſt of Secretary of State.

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diſowned in it by the King his maſter, who continued him a long time after in his ſervice; nor was it ever alleged as one of the cauſes of his diſgrace." The Spaniſh Miniſter, in reply, declares, "that the King of Spain does not conſider himſelf as reſponſible for the vain and idle diſcourſes of the Duc de Ripperda, whoſe extravagancies had at length induced his Catholic Majeſty not only to diveſt him of his offices, but to ſecure the perſon of a Miniſter as culpable as dangerous. But he acknowledged, that the Duc de Ripperda was juſtified in declaring, that the good correſpondence and friendſhip of England and Spain depended on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, agreeably to the poſitive engagements of the King of England." This extraordinary man, after his diſgrace, eſcaped from the Tower of Segovia, where he was cloſely confined, and ſought for refuge in England, where he reſided three years in great pomp and ſplendor. But not finding his wild ſchemes and projects of revenge likely to be adopted by the Britiſh Court, he took a ſudden reſolution to offer his ſervices to Muley Abdalla, Emperor of Morocco, by whom they were received with eagerneſs; and embracing the Mahommedan faith, he was created a Baſſa and Prime Miniſter and Vizier of the Empire. After experiencing divers viciſſitudes of fortune he expired at Tetuan, October 1737, profeſſing himſelf a true and ſincere penitent; and being

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received as ſuch into the boſom of the holy Catholic Church, in the communion of which he was originally educated; though early in life he had abjured the errors of Popery, and embraced the Proteſtant faith, which he afterwards renounced on entering into the ſervice of Spain: on receiving abſolution from a Monk of Mequinez, he became, although previouſly agonized with remorſe, calm and ſerene, and at laſt died with cheerfulneſs and hope.—Such is the faſcination of the Roman Catholic religion.

The political connection between Ruſſia and Sweden, ſo recently formed, was already much weakened by the unexpected death of the Czar, Peter the Great, January 1725; and the harmony between England and Sweden was, in conſequence of that event, after an interval of buſy intrigue and negotiation, completely reſtored. This Monarch muſt ever be regarded as the moſt extraordinary phænomenon of the age in which he lived. Previous to his acceſſion to the throne of his anceſtors, Ruſſia was ſcarcely known as an European power, except by her occaſional wars with Poland, and by the commercial intercourſe which ſhe maintained with England, through the medium of the remote port of Archangel, ſituated at the extremity of the Frozen Ocean. PETER, who, by a rare conjunction of qualities, joined a moſt daring and ardent ſpirit of enterpriſe to a

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clear and ſolid judgment, early entertained the vaſt deſign of civilizing his immenſe dominions—burning with ambition to occupy a conſpicuous and leading ſtation amongſt the powers of Europe. With what ſucceſs he proſecuted and accompliſhed this grand project, it is foreign to the purpoſe of the preſent hiſtory to relate. After ſurmounting, by the inceſſant labor of thirty years, difficulties inſuperable to any other man, he lived to ſee himſelf in poſſeſſion of all which had engaged his wiſhes and his hopes—applauded as a hero, venerated as a legiſlator. By his conqueſts he had ſubjected various rich and populous provinces to his dominion, and in the midſt of them he had built a magnificent city bearing the name of its founder, and which will atteſt to future and ſucceſſive ages the grandeur and ſublimity of his genius. He introduced diſcipline into his armies; he created a powerful navy; and in the room of Aſiatic ignorance, prejudice, and barbariſm, he ſubſtituted the arts, the learning, the cuſtoms and manners of Europe. His ſyſtem of improvement and aggrandizement has been eagerly and invariably purſued by his ſucceſſors in the empire, and with a degree of ſucceſs which may reaſonably excite univerſal jealouſy and apprehenſion: for to the rapid and unexampled increaſe of the power of Ruſſia no other European State bears a juſt or relative proportion. The King of England, alarmed at the

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great naval equipments of the Empreſs Catherine, upon whom the Imperial crown of the late Czar her huſband had by his will devolved, profeſſed, with great oſtentation of generoſity, to feel an extreme apprehenſion leſt Sweden ſhould be eventually endangered by them. And though Sweden, clearly perceiving that Sleſwic was the real object of his ſolicitude, openly declared herſelf in perfect amity with Ruſſia; a ſtrong ſquadron under Sir Charles Wager ſailed, by order of the King of England, to the Baltic, early in the year 1726, with expreſs directions not to ſuffer the Ruſſian fleets to leave their ports, till the Empreſs had obviated all ground of ſuſpicion by an explicit declaration of her pacific intentions. The Empreſs, though highly offended at this imperious requiſition, proteſted, "that nothing was farther from her thoughts, than any deſign to diſturb the peace of the North—expreſſing at the ſame time her aſtoniſhment, that ſhe had not received his Majeſty's letter until his fleet was at anchor before Revel; a procedure totally inconſiſtent with the amity ſo long maintained between her kingdoms and the Crown of Great Britain." That Ruſſia, at leaſt after the death of the Czar, was willing and deſirous to maintain amity with Great Britain, and even with Hanover, as connected with Britain, appears from the tenor of the negotiations carried on in the ſummer of 1725;

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when the Czarina declared her readineſs to concede in all other points, provided Sleſwic were reſtored to the Duke of Holſtein, or an equivalent found for it. To this idea of an equivalent the King of England profeſſed not to object; but after much laborious diſcuſſion of this knotty point, no equivalent could be deviſed; though, had not Hanover been at this period the darling care of England, Bremen and Verden would probably have been deemed a very fit and commodious one. Notwithſtanding the declaration of the Empreſs, Sir Charles Wager, who had been joined at Copenhagen by a Daniſh ſquadron, continued in his ſtation till the ſeaſon was too far advanced to admit of any farther naval operations. Thus provoked, the Czarina acceded in form to the Treaty of Vienna (Auguſt 1726). And the Government of Sweden, perceiving Ruſſia unable to cope with the naval power of England, and feeling ſenſibly the operative influence of the *golden ſhowers* which now diffuſed themſelves in rich profuſion over that barren land, acceded, March 1727, to the Treaty of Hanover*. Two other

* In conſequence of the unlimited votes of credit paſſed by the Commons in 1726 and 1727, it appears that the ſum of 435,000l. was expended during thoſe two years in *ſecret ſervices*, neceſſary, to adopt the language of Parliament, "to fulfil and perfect his Majeſty's engagements for ſecuring the

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other powerful ſquadrons were alſo at this period fitted out at an immenſe expence, though, as far as appears, without any determinate object; and indicating only the jealous fears and reſtleſs ſurmiſes of the King of England. One of theſe, under the command of Sir John Jennings, with a body of land-forces on board, cruized for a conſiderable time off the coaſts of Spain, to the great conſternation of the inhabitants, but attempted no act of hoſtility. Another fleet under Rear-Admiral Hoſier ſailed for the Weſt-Indies, with orders to block

peace of Europe." In the month of June 1726, when the Britiſh fleet was actually in the Baltic, Mr. Poyntz, Ambaſſador at the Court of Stockholm, preſented a MEMORIAL to that Court, declaring, "That his Britannic Majeſty, always attentive to preſerve the peace of the North, had no ſooner concluded the Treaty of Hanover but he had communicated it to Sweden, and deſired its acceſſion thereto—that it was with great concern he ſaw this negotiation lengthened out to above ſix months, and that in the mean time Sweden had entered into engagements with other powers (alluding to the acceſſion of the Emperor, April 1726, to the Treaty of Stockholm, of February 1724); notwithſtanding which, his Majeſty, fearing theſe delays ſhould endanger Sweden, to ſhew his exactneſs in fulfilling his engagements and his attention to the ſuccor of Sweden, was willing to put that Crown in poſſeſſion of the good fruits of its acceſſion, even before it had acceded, by ſending a powerful ſquadron into the Baltic *without any requiſition thereof*—that the Britiſh Admiral had been preſented to his Swediſh Majeſty, to aſſure him, that if he thought himſelf in any immediate danger from the armament of his neighbors, he was in that caſe to concert meaſures

block up the galleons in the Spaniſh harbors; or to capture them, in caſe they ſhould preſume to venture out. But his inſtructions authorizing no farther or more direct act of hoſtility, and the Spaniards having reconveyed, on the firſt intelligence of this armament, their treaſures from Porto Bello to Panama, this gallant officer was compelled to remain inactive in his ſtation till the greater part of his men, and at length the Admiral himſelf, periſhed deplorably by the diſeaſes of that

meaſures with his Majeſty for the defence of Sweden; but that, while the ſaid Admiral continued at Stockholm, his Swediſh Majeſty had graciouſly anſwered in writing, THAT HAVING A DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE WITH RUSSIA, HE THOUGHT HIMSELF IN NO DANGER FROM THENCE.—If after the departure of the Engliſh fleet any misfortune ſhould happen to Sweden for want of timely precautions, it is hoped ſuch misfortune will not be imputed to his Britannic Majeſty. And the Ambaſſador concludes with ſaying, that his Majeſty cannot imagine that the fear of danger ought not to be a ſufficient inducement to guard againſt thoſe dangers; nor that the looſe and uncertain hopes of future advantages from Ruſſia can afford a reaſonable motive to reject the friendſhip of thoſe Powers which have ever been the ſupport of Sweden; nor that thoſe imaginary and inſidious promiſes can be balanced againſt a clear and net ſubſidy of 100,000 ducats per month, to commence from your Majeſty's acceſſion to the Treaty of Hanover, and with a proſpect of more conſiderable aſſiſtance in caſe of need." Surely the graveſt counſellor in the ſenate of Sweden muſt have found it difficult to read this Memorial with a ſerious countenance; for who ever heard, before, of an armament ſent out of pure good-will to reſcue a nation from the danger of its own alliances?

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deſtructive climate. The ſhips alſo were ſaid to be ruined by the worms; and loud and general complaints were made in England of the improvident and wanton waſte of lives and money, in this unaccountable and diſaſtrous expedition.

During the ſeſſion of the preceding year, 1725, the Earl of Macclesfield, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, was impeached, by the Houſe of Commons, of high crimes and miſdemeanors, upon the ground of his having made unuſual and exorbitant profits from the ſale of places—as alſo from the abuſe of his truſt, as general guardian of the perſons and eſtates of orphans and lunatics; and, after a trial of twenty days, he was convicted by the Peers, and ſentenced to pay a fine of 30,000l. and to impriſonment in the Tower till the ſame was paid.—A memorable example of the upright and impartial adminiſtration of criminal juſtice in Great Britain. He was ſucceeded in the Chancellorſhip by Sir Peter King, created Baron King of Ockham in Surry, who had acquired great and deſerved reputation in his former ſtation of Lord Chief Juſtice of England. But to this new and more elevated employment his talents were not deemed equally adapted: and on his reſignation the Great Seal was conſigned to Lord Talbot, a nobleman of the higheſt mental accompliſhments, of profound profeſſional knowledge, and whoſe private life was the mirror of every virtue. His death,

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death, which moſt unhappily took place ſoon after his advancement, in the vigor of his age, was honored with the deepeſt expreſſions of national veneration and ſorrow. He was ſucceeded by Sir Philip Yorke, Lord Chief Juſtice of England, created Baron Hardwick, who preſided in the Court of Chancery with high reputation no leſs than nineteen years.

At this period the King revived the antient order of Knights of the Bath—an inſtitution which affords a cheap and honorable recompenſe to men who have merited of the public, ſo long as ſuch diſtinctions retain in the public eſtimation their preſent artificial and ideal value *.

The Parliament of Great Britain being convened January 1727, the King informed the two Houſes "that the alliance offenſive and defenſive concluded between Spain and the Emperor had laid the foundation of a moſt exorbitant and formidable power—a power levelled againſt the deareſt intereſts and privileges of the Engliſh nation, which muſt either ſurrender Gibraltar to Spain, and acquieſce in the Emperor's uſurped exerciſe of commerce, or reſolve vigorouſly to defend their undoubted rights. He aſſured them that it was a ſecret article of this alliance to place the Pretender upon the throne of

* To attempt with philoſophical ſeverity to expoſe the frivolouſneſs of theſe diſtinctions, were "to reaſon too curiouſly."

"Theſe little things are great to little Man."

Great

Great Britain; and that Ruſſia was actuated by the ſame views, which ſhe had however been prevented from taking any ſteps to accompliſh by the recent operations of the Britiſh fleet in the Baltic. Two other ſquadrons, he ſaid, had been alſo equipped, the advantage and glory accruing to the nation from which ſufficiently ſpoke their praiſe.—And he concluded with informing them, that the King of Spain had actually ordered his Ambaſſador to quit the kingdom, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the reſtitution of Gibraltar." The Commons, in reply to his Majeſty's ſpeech, voted a moſt loyal and zealous addreſs, expreſſing "their determination to ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes againſt all his enemies; and engaging not only cheerfully and effectually to raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for the preſent exigency, but to enable his Majeſty to make good his engagements with his allies, in order to preſerve the balance of power in Europe and the undoubted rights of the Crown of Great Britain." In vain was it urged by the patriots in oppoſition, "that it was ſufficient on this occaſion to return thanks to his Majeſty for his moſt gracious ſpeech, and appoint a day for taking it into conſideration, without precipitately pledging themſelves to ſupport meaſures, the rectitude and wiſdom of which they had as yet been furniſhed with no means to aſcertain; that the addreſs implied an approbation of meaſures taken to prevent dangers. But could

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could this be done with propriety without knowing of what nature thoſe meaſures were, or whether the dangers alleged were imaginary or real? On this occaſion they ſaid the advice of the Houſe might be quite as neceſſary as its ſupport; that the queſtion of peace and war was the moſt momentous which could fall under the cognizance of that aſſembly; that it was incumbent upon them not raſhly to decide, but maturely to deliberate; and for this purpoſe it was neceſſary that thoſe papers which could alone elucidate and eſtabliſh the facts ſtated in his Majeſty's ſpeech, ſhould be laid before them." Sir William Wyndham remarked, that of late years our counſels had been in a ſtate of perpetual fluctuation; that, Penelope-like, we were continually weaving and unravelling the ſame web—now raiſing, now depreſſing the power of the Houſe of Auſtria, and engaging in ſucceſſive quarrels with every power of the continent, under the pretence of preſerving the balance of Europe." It was aſked by Mr. Hungerford, by what fleets the Pretender was to be convoyed to England; and whether he propoſed to embark on the floating iſland of Gulliver—a ſcheme which ſeemed not more chimerical than the other circumſtances of this romantic tale. He hoped that matters were not yet carried to ſuch deſperate lengths but that means of accommodation might be found without engaging the nation in a war, which could only prove an aggravation of misfortunes." Sir Thomas Hanmer declared,

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declared, that if the dangers which this nation was now ſaid to be threatened with, were ſo real and ſo imminent as ſome pretended, he would be one of the foremoſt in recommending ſpeedy and vigorous reſolutions. But he acknowledged his incredulity; theſe dangers appeared to him mere phantoms, diſtant and almoſt indiſcernible. And as to the Pretender, though his name might be converted to a political uſe by foreign princes, in order to frighten and alarm us; his intereſt was never ſo low, nor his party ſo deſpicable, as at preſent; and all mention of him in this day's debate ought to be left entirely out of the queſtion. He confeſſed himſelf extremely apprehenſive that the acquiſition of certain foreign dominions had ſown the ſeeds which had now produced theſe diviſions and diſturbances, which menaced Europe with a general war; and that we had involved ourſelves in our preſent difficulties by COMPLIANCES, unaccountable on any poſſible ground connected with the national intereſts; or which could be dictated by any other motive than the ſecurity of thoſe acquiſitions." Theſe reaſonings, however, were too weak to have the leaſt influence on the deciſion of the Houſe; and the addreſs was carried on the diviſion by a majority of 251 againſt 81 voices. The demand of the King of Spain, mentioned in the ſpeech from the throne, and alluded to by Sir Thomas Hanmer, was founded upon what his Catholic Majeſty affected to conſider as a poſitive engage-

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engagement of the King of England himſelf; who, in order to facilitate the accompliſhment of the purpoſes which were at that time the object of negotiation at the Court of Madrid, had, in a letter written in his own hand to the King of Spain, flattered that monarch with the idea of this reſtitution; which was afterwards, in conſequence of the indignation excited by the mere ſuggeſtion of this project to the Houſe of Commons, laid aſide as wholly impracticable; not however without leaving an apparent ſtain, or at leaſt caſting a certain ſhade, upon the honor of the King *. Such was

* Of this celebrated letter from the King of England to the King of Spain, the following is a tranſlated copy from the French original:—

"SIR, MY BROTHER,

"I HAVE learned with great ſatisfaction from the report of my Ambaſſador at your Court, that your Majeſty is at laſt reſolved to remove the obſtacles that have for ſome time delayed the entire accompliſhment of our union. Since, from the confidence which your Majeſty expreſſes towards me, I may look upon the treaties which have been in queſtion between us as re-eſtabliſhed, and that accordingly the inſtruments neceſſary for carrying on the trade of my ſubjects will be delivered out; I do no longer heſitate to aſſure your Majeſty of my readineſs to ſatisfy you with regard to your demand touching the reſtoration of Gibraltar, promiſing you to make uſe of the firſt favorable opportunity to regulate this article with the conſent of my Parliament. And to give your Majeſty a farther proof of my affection, I have ordered my Ambaſſador, as ſoon

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was the umbrage given by the King's ſpeech to the Court of Vienna, that M. de Palm, the Imperial Reſident at London, was ordered by the Emperor to preſent a remonſtrance to the Britiſh Court, framed in terms unuſually bold and pointed, charging the King with "calumnious miſrepreſentations, and with hazarding aſſertions void of all foundation. He affirmed that there was no *offenſive* alliance ſubſiſting between the Imperial and Spaniſh Crowns; that the article relating to the Pretender was an ABSOLUTE NULLITY; and that the reſtitution of Gibraltar, however juſt the claim of

as the negotiation with which he has been charged ſhall be finiſhed, to propoſe to your Majeſty *new engagements to be entered into in concert and jointly with France*, ſuitable to the preſent conjuncture, not only for ſtrengthening our union, but alſo for ſecuring the tranquillity of Europe. Your Majeſty may be perſuaded that I on my part will ſhew all facility imaginable, promiſing myſelf that you will do the ſame for the mutual benefit of our kingdoms—being moſt perfectly,

"Sir, my Brother,

"Your Majeſty's good Brother,

June 1, 1721. "GEORGE, *R.*

"*To the King of Spain, Monſieur my Brother.*"

But this, though the chief, was not the ſole ground upon which the King of Spain reſted his claim of reſtitution. Towards the concluſion of Lord Stair's embaſſy at Paris, Lord Stanhope went over to France charged with a ſecret commiſſion. And the Cardinal Dubois, after his departure, informed the Ambaſſador, "that Lord Stanhope had given a verbal promiſe

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of the King of Spain, was foreign to the purpoſe of the treaty." The two Houſes expreſſed, in a formal addreſs to the throne, their indignation at the inſolence of this memorial, which they ſtyle an extravagant inſult upon his Majeſty, and a preſumptuous and vain attempt to inſtil into the minds of his faithful ſubjects a diſtruſt of his royal word." As no poſitive evidence has however yet been adduced to confirm the aſſertions of the King of England, it is probable that the intelligence received reſpecting this political myſtery did not merit that implicit credit which, prediſpoſed by the credulity of habitual apprehenſion and ſuſpi-

miſe to the Regent, or at leaſt what the Regent underſtood as ſuch, for the reſtoration of Gibraltar—that the Regent thus authorized, had poſitively and formally aſſured the King of Spain that Gibraltar ſhould be reſtored; and that the honor of his Highneſs as well as that of the King was now engaged for its accompliſhment, and that a failure in this point might be attended with diſaſtrous conſequences."—That Lord Stanhope ſhould be empowered to offer an abſolute ceſſion of Gibraltar is, however, not credible; as the King of England himſelf acknowledges in his letter to the King of Spain the conſent of Parliament to be neceſſary; and the prejudices of the kingdom with regard to Gibraltar were far too great and obvious to admit the ſuppoſition that this conſent could be at any time believed eaſily attainable. It is probable, therefore, that the offer was made by the Engliſh Court chiefly to amuſe, though the King and his Miniſters were certainly not averſe to the ſurrender of this invidious conqueſt.——*Vide Hardwicke State Papers.*

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cion, the Court of London appears to have given to it—although Lord Townſhend heſitated not to declare in the Houſe of Lords, "that if the ſafety of the State permitted to lay the advices in poſſeſſion of Government before the Houſe, their Lordſhips would no more queſtion the certainty of ſuch an article than if they had been preſent at the ſigning of it." On the other hand, Count Palm in his memorial declares, "that his Imperial Majeſty was ſtruck with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that the King of Great Britain could ſuffer himſelf to be prevailed upon to declare from the royal throne to that moſt renowned nation, as certain and undoubted facts, things abſolutely void of all foundation.—And the Ambaſſador declares that his Imperial Majeſty has expreſsly authoriſed and commanded him moſt ſolemnly to affirm in his name, and upon his Imperial word, that there exiſts no ſecret article or convention whatſoever which contains or can tend to prove the leaſt tittle of what has been alleged." And in another part of this famous memorial he proteſts "that there exiſts not even a pretence to ſay that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a nation for which his Imperial Majeſty has the greateſt affection and eſteem, and whoſe glorious exploits and important ſuccors no time will efface out of his memory." The Emperor was believed to be envious of the power and

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and grandeur of the Houſe of Lunenburg ſince its acceſſion to the throne of Great Britain, to a degree which the zealous and uniform attachment of the Princes of that Houſe to the intereſts of the Imperial family could never ſoften. But that he ſhould ſeriouſly liſten to any propoſals from the Court of Madrid in favor of the Houſe of Stuart, from whoſe gratitude he had little to expect, and from whoſe deeply-rooted animoſity and revenge he might eventually have every thing to fear, carries with it the face of great improbability. Highly reſenting nevertheleſs the conduct of the King of England, and conſidering himſelf as abandoned by the treaty of Hanover, he had in the courſe of the preceding year (April 1726) acceded to the ſecret article of the treaty of Stockholm; from which æra the exorbitant power of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the danger to which the balance of power and the liberties of Europe were conſequently expoſed, had become the faſhionable theme of declamation in the Court and Parliament of Great Britain.

With the memorial alſo was tranſmitted from Vienna a letter from the Chancellor Count Zinzendorf to Count Palm, expreſſly commanding him, in the name of his Imperial Majeſty, after preſenting the memorial to the King of Great Britain, to publiſh it, together with the letter annexed, for the information of the Britiſh nation. The Chancellor Zinzendorf affirms in this letter,

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" that it is eaſy to ſee that the ſpeech was made for no other purpoſe but to excite the nation to a rupture and open war with the Emperor and Spain; and to make the Parliament approve the precipitate and burdenſome meaſures *which the Government has taken for private ends too well known.*—That on the firſt report of theſe falſe ſuppoſitions, the Emperor and the King of Spain, in order to ſilence them, propoſed a formal act *de non offendendo*, into which all the contracting parties of the treaties of Vienna and Hanover might enter, till ſuch time as a definitive agreement might have taken place; but that this propoſition was rejected. He ſays, that the articles of the Quadruple Alliance are expreſſly and publicly laid down as the unalterable baſis of the treaty of Vienna, and that to affirm that by a ſecret pact concluded at the ſame time, engagements have been entered into by their Imperial and Catholic Majeſties, repugnant to the ſame, is an outrageous inſult to the majeſty of the two contracting powers, who have a right to demand a reparation proportioned to the enormity of the affront. And that the high contracting parties had no other view than that of making peace between themſelves, without injuring any one elſe." The allegations contained in this letter and memorial ſeem but too well founded; but the intemperate language of theſe papers gave high and juſt offence: and Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hunger-

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Hungerford, Sir William Wyndham, and all the leaders of Oppoſition in Parliament, warmly concurred in the addreſs preſented to the throne *on this occaſion*; and which paſſed the Houſe without a diſſentient vote. And an order was ſent to M. de Palm, ſignifying "that the ſaid Palm having delivered into the hands of his Majeſty, at his late audience, a memorial highly injurious to the honor and dignity of his Crown, and having alſo publicly diſperſed the ſame with a letter from the Count de Zinzendorf to him the ſaid Palm, ſtill more inſolent than the memorial, his Majeſty looked upon him no longer as a public miniſter, and required him forthwith to depart out of this kingdom." Vigorous preparations were now made on both ſides for war; and before the end of the ſeſſion, the King informed the Parliament that the fortreſs of Gibraltar was actually beſieged. The forces of Great Britain were augmented by ſea and land. Thirty thouſand Swedes, Danes, and Heſſians, were taken into Britiſh pay. And amongſt other more uſual ways and means of providing the ſupplies called for on this occaſion, the King was empowered, by a clauſe of appropriation in one of the revenue bills of the year, "to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for making good the expences and engagements which had been or ſhould be made before the 25th of September next, for the purpoſes of eſtabliſhing

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the ſecurity of commerce and reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe." And it was in vain urged, "that this mode of aſking and granting ſupplies was in the higheſt degree unparliamentary—that ſuch an unlimited power ought never to be given under a free government—that ſuch confidence in the Crown might be attended, through the influence of evil miniſters, with the moſt dangerous conſequences—that no proviſion was made for the reſponſibility of thoſe entruſted with the diſpoſal of this money—that the conſtitution could no otherwiſe be preſerved, than by a ſtrict adherence to the eſſential parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating thoſe ſupplies to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed, and judged neceſſary—and that ſuch an unwarrantable delegation of authority transfers that diſcretion to the Crown which can with ſafety be veſted in the Legiſlature alone." The ſum of 370,000l. iſſued in Exchequer Bills, was alſo charged on the ſurplus produce of certain duties appertaining to the Sinking Fund, towards the expences of the war, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of Sir Joſeph Jekyl and Mr. Pulteney, who demonſtrated how eſſentially the efficacy of the fund would, by ſuch a practice, be impaired. The latter of theſe gentlemen, in particular, affirmed, "That by charging new loans upon old and appropriated ſurpluſſes, the public were groſſly

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deceived; that by theſe expedients to put off the evil day, taxes would be perpetuated; and that notwithſtanding the great merit aſſumed by the inventors of this boaſted ſcheme of redemption, the national debt had really increaſed ſince the ſetting up of that pompous project." This inſidious alienation of a fund hitherto regarded as ſacred was the more remarkable, as the Houſe of Commons, in reply to the ſpeech from the throne, expreſsly recommending to their attention the ſtate of the Sinking Fund, had ſaid—"And that all who wiſh well to the peace and quiet of your Majeſty's government, may have the ſatisfaction to ſee that our preſent neceſſities ſhall make no interruption in the progreſs of that deſirable work, of gradually reducing the national debt; we will conſider of the moſt proper method for immediately applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the uſes for which it was ſo wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtands now appropriated." The Court having now carried all its meaſures by great and deciſive majorities, the Parliament was prorogued May 15, 1727.

Sir John Norris at this time ſailing with a powerful fleet to the Baltic was joined by a Daniſh ſquadron. But the Czarina dying at this critical juncture, and the politics of the Court of Peterſburg ſuſtaining another unexpected change, the armament became happily uſeleſs. Meantime,

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through the active and ſeaſonable intervention of the Court of Verſailles—reluctant to carry matters to farther extremity againſt the Emperor, while ſupported by Spain, whoſe friendſhip ſhe was ſolicitous to recover—preliminary articles of accommodation were ſigned, May 1727, by the miniſters of all the belligerent powers; who, though much exaſperated againſt each other, were actuated by no motives of ſufficient weight to induce them to involve anew all Europe in the horrors of a general war. Theſe articles imported, that hoſtilities ſhould immediately ceaſe; that the charter of the Oſtend Company ſhould be ſuſpended for ſeven years; and that a congreſs ſhould be opened in four months, at Aix-la-Chapelle, afterwards transferred to Soiſſons, to ſettle the terms of a final pacification *.

The King of England ſeemed at length to have ſurmounted all his political difficulties; and if we cannot always applaud the juſtice or the wiſdom of his counſels, it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that they were enforced with an extraordinary

* So ſeriouſly nevertheleſs did France enter into the views of England, or rather of Hanover, at this criſis, for the abaſement of the Houſe of Auſtria, that ſhe had actually engaged for the payment of an annual ſubſidy to Denmark of 350,000 rix-dollars, for four years; and likewiſe of 50,000 ducats monthly to Sweden, to commence from the period of her acceſſion to the Treaty of Hanover.

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degree of vigor and ſucceſs. A fair proſpect of peace and tranquillity now ſeemed to open; and the King embraced with his uſual eagerneſs this favorable opportunity of reviſiting his electoral dominions, to which he ever retained a fond and partial attachment, and by which he was in a degree not inferior revered and beloved. Embarking at Greenwich, June 3, 1727, he landed in Holland on the 7th, and immediately ſet out on his journey to Hanover. On the road between Delden and Oſnaburg he was ſeized with a kind of lethargic paralyſis; and feeling himſelf attacked by the ſtroke of death, he ſaid to the nobleman who accompanied him in the carriage, "*C'eſt fait de moi.*" He appeared, however, extremely anxious to reach the capital of his dominions; but on his arrival at the palace of his brother, the Biſhop of Oſnaburg, it was found impoſſible to proceed; and on Sunday the 11th of June 1727 he expired, in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his reign—leaving iſſue by his conſort Sophia Dorothea, heireſs of the Houſe of Zell, George, ſucceſſor to the Crown, and a daughter, married previous to the acceſſion of the Brunſwic family to the royal dignity, to Frederic William, King of Pruſſia.

If this Prince was not diſtinguiſhed for ſhining talents or heroic virtues, much leſs can we diſcern, on a general review of his character, any remarkable deficiency of underſtanding or propenſity to

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vice. Acceding to the Crown of Great Britain when far advanced in life, he ſeemed ever to conſider himſelf rather as Elector than as King; and the influence and power of Great Britain were of little eſtimation in his eyes, when directed to any other end than the aggrandizement of his native country. With reſpect to the internal government of his kingdoms, the rectitude and benevolence of his intentions were always apparent: but he was, from the nature of his ſituation, compelled to throw himſelf into the hands of a party; and from the eaſineſs of his diſpoſition he was too often perſuaded to acquieſce in meaſures which a more perfect acquaintance with the real ſtate of facts and opinions would have ſhewn to be as contrary to his intereſts, as there is reaſon to believe they frequently were to his inclination. In the view of Europe at large, he ſuſtained the character of a prudent, an able, and a fortunate prince. And if, in contemplating the hiſtory of this reign, we have juſt cauſe to lament the weakneſſes and defects of the external ſyſtem of policy by which its counſels were influenced; we have ample reaſon, on the other hand, to expreſs our ardent wiſhes, that the noble ſpeculative principles of government, and of liberty civil and religious, which this Monarch was not only ready but anxious on all occaſions to avow, and by which the general tenor of his conduct was regulated,

lated, may never ceaſe to be the diſtinguiſhing and favorite characteriſtics of the royal and electoral Houſe of BRUNSWIC.

With reſpect to the general ſtate of literature and the arts during this reign, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that notwithſtanding the total neglect of the Court, and the violence of party rage, deſcriptive of this as well as of the former reign, they continued to flouriſh in a very high degree; and we view with ſurpriſe, amidſt ſcenes of contention and turbulence, a conſtellation of geniuſes ſhedding a peculiar luſtre over this period of Britiſh hiſtory. Scarcely had LOCKE, TEMPLE, and DRYDEN, the departing luminaries of the former age, ſunk below the weſtern ſky; when ADDISON, SWIFT, POPE, SHAFTESBURY and BOLINGBROKE aroſe in the eaſt. The writings of Addiſon, in particular, merit a moſt diſtinguiſhed and honorable mention. Amidſt the din of hoſtile and malignant factions, they exhibit an almoſt cloudleſs picture of urbanity, candor, good ſenſe, and beneficence. The advantage which the community has reaped from the wide and almoſt boundleſs diffuſion of them, no power of calculation can aſcertain. And excluſive of their moral and political merit, his exquiſite delineations of life and manners will charm as long as our nation and language exiſt. In poetry, Pope roſe far ſuperior to all his contemporaries; and if inferior to any

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any in that mode of verſification which he choſe to adopt, he is inferior to Dryden alone. In the province of architecture, Gibbs and Kent, with unequal ſteps and at almoſt viewleſs diſtance, followed the celebrated Sir Chriſtopher Wren; of whom the magnificent plan for rebuilding the city of London in 1666—an effort of genius which can never be contemplated without admiration and indignant regret—would have alone ſufficed to perpetuate the memory. And at this period the Engliſh ſchool of painting could produce, a Thornhill excepted, no greater artiſt than Jervas, whoſe name is indeed immortalized—not by the "warmth divine" of his own performances, but of "the verſe eternal which embalms the dead." During the courſe of this reign, Sir ISAAC NEWTON terminated his long career of life; but his career of fame and glory will be coëval only with that of the world itſelf, whoſe laws he has developed and explained, with an energy and ſagacity wholly ſtupendous, and approaching, perhaps, the limits of ſupernatural intelligence.

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K. GEORGE II.

ON the arrival of an expreſs from Oſnaburg with the intelligence of the death of the King, the new Monarch, aſſembling the Privy Council, commanded the members to be ſworn anew; and declared to them his firm purpoſe to preſerve inviolate the Conſtitution in Church and State, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign Princes. All the great officers of State were continued in their places; and it was at once apparent that the political ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the late King would ſuffer no eſſential alteration. The Prime Miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, ſeemed even to poſſeſs an higher and more excluſive ſhare of favor and confidence than before. Lord Townſhend, Secretary of State for foreign affairs, a nobleman not deſtitute of knowledge or talents—open, generous, and ſincere—was alone able for a time to preſerve ſome degree of independent political conſequence: but finding the competition too unequal, and his power

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and influence rapidly on the wane, he retired—a ſtateſman cured of ambition—to cultivate his paternal acres *. The Duke of Newcaſtle, his colleague, was a man illuſtrious by his birth, affable and popular in his addreſs, liberal in his ſentiments, and magnificent in his expences. But his capacity was very inadequate to his elevated ſtation. With intentions diſintereſted and upright, his zeal and attachment to the Houſe of Hanover too frequently prompted him to inconſiderate compliances. And to oppoſe the meaſures of the Court, however contrary to the intereſts of the nation, argued in his eſtimation criminal diſaffection to the King's perſon and government. Mr. Pelham, Secretary at War, and brother to the Duke, was eſteemed for his probity, reſpected for his talents, and beloved for his candor. The Earl of Cheſterfield, Ambaſſador at the Hague, and ſoon afterwards appointed Lord Steward, who ſeemed ambitious to form himſelf upon the model

* A cotemporary poet of no ignoble fame has celebrated the praiſes of this reſpectable nobleman in the following elegant lines:

"——Townshend, whom all the world admires,
From all the world illuſtriouſly retires;
And calmly wand'ring in his Raynham roves,
By lake, or ſpring, by thicket, lawn, or groves;
Where verdant hills, or vales, where fountains ſtray,
Charming each thought of idle pomp away;
Unenvied views the ſplendid toils of State,
In private happy, as in public great."

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of Lord Bolingbroke, though he roſe not to an equality with that great and unrivalled original, was at once a man of wit, of pleaſure, and of buſineſs. The high poliſh of his manners, approaching perhaps the verge of frivolity, indicated rather the accompliſhed courtier than the commanding ſtateſman; and left an impreſſion ſomewhat unfavorable to the ſolidity of his judgment, though his political opinions appear to have been uniformly clear and juſt. As a ſpeaker, his elocution was elegant, and his ſtyle flowing and chaſte; and his capacity, naturally excellent, was improved by diligent literary cultivation *. John

* The character of this nobleman—"Stanhope in wiſdom as in wit divine"—has been thought greatly to reſemble that of his maternal grandfather, the celebrated Marquis of Halifax. Amongſt the "State Maxims" of the latter, is an obſervation, which alone might ſerve as a proof that he has not been applauded without reaſon for his ſagacity: "The Prince is to take care that the greater part of the people may not be angry at the ſame time—for though the firſt beginning of their ill-humour ſhould be againſt one another, it will naturally end in anger againſt him." And of his wit we have the following excellent ſpecimen: After the Revolution, in which the Marquis had borne a diſtinguiſhed part, many abſurd applications were made to him from perſons pretending great ſervices, for his recommendation to poſts and places under the government, which they were for the moſt part utterly unqualified to fill. Being at laſt wearied with their importunities, he ſaid "that he had frequently been told that the Roman republic had been ſaved by geeſe, but he never heard that thoſe geeſe were made Conſuls."

Duke

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Duke of Argyle was diſtinguiſhed beyond all his cotemporaries, by an uncommon union of civil and military talents. He had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of Flanders under the late Duke of Marlborough, whilſt yet in early youth, by a ſagacity of conduct ſurpaſſing his years, and by a ſpirit of gallantry which roſe to heroiſm. As Commander in Chief of the forces in North Britain, he was eminently inſtrumental in quelling the rebellion of 1715. And the firm and hereditary attachment of his family to the principles of liberty and whiggiſm rendered the name of Argyle dear to the majority of the people of Scotland, where his influence and popularity were almoſt boundleſs. His ſpeeches in Parliament were characterized by a vehemence and energy, which rendered him, as a political adverſary, very formidable. He was not wanting in a very exalted idea of the importance of his ſervices and the luſtre of his talents. The high and lucrative offices which he held under the Crown he ſeemed to regard rather as what it were injuſtice to withhold, than favor to confer. He was imperious, paſſionate, and capricious, but honeſt, undiſguiſed, and magnanimous—troubleſome as a friend, but dangerous as an enemy. Lord Carteret was however, unqueſtionably, the only man connected with this adminiſtration, of whoſe abilities the Premier could entertain any reaſonable jealouſy or apprehenſion.

Dignified

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Dignified and even ſtately in his deportment, the habitual ſuperiority he appeared to aſſume was ſuſtained by an extraordinary energy of genius and extent of knowledge. Deeply verſed in the labyrinths of foreign politics, he at once diſcerned and deſpiſed all the littleneſſes of that ſyſtem by which the Engliſh Court had been governed, from the period of her connection with Hanover. Aſpiring in his views, reſolute in his temper, and diverted by no inferior or collateral object from the purſuits of his ambition, he ſeemed by the potency of his alliance to menace the miniſter whom he deigned to honor with his ſupport.

The entire produce of the Civil Liſt revenues, eſtimated at 800,000l., was, on the motion of Sir Robert Walpole, ſettled on the King for life, inſtead of the clear annual revenue of 700,000l. granted to the late Monarch—not, however, without ſome debate and oppoſition. The incorrupt and inflexible Shippen obſerved, "That the ſum of 700,000l. was, at the acceſſion of his late Majeſty, conſidered by all as an ample royal revenue; and it was to be hoped that in this reign many perſonal expences, particularly thoſe incurred in the frequent journeys to Hanover, would ceaſe. He affirmed, that the Civil Liſt revenue in the reign of the late Queen did not in general exceed the ſum of 550,000l., and that the Parliament was called upon only once in a reign of thirteen

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thirteen years to pay the debts contracted in her civil government; and these were occasioned by the unparalleled instances of her piety and generosity—especially by her devoting 100,000l. per annum to the public service during the war. But in the late reign 500,000l. had been twice voted for the discharge of the Civil List debts; and last session, he said, a sum of 125,000l. was granted for purposes not yet explained: notwithstanding which there was yet a debt of 600,000l. unaccounted for; and therefore he supposed contracted in a manner not fit to be owned, or swallowed up in the bottomless gulph of secret service. This amazing extravagance, he said, had happened under the conduct of persons pretending to surpass all their predecessors in the knowledge and care of the public revenue. But, instead of granting any addition to the Civil List, he should move that the duties appropriated to this purpose should be continued to his Majesty, so as to make up the clear yearly sum of 700,000l." The amendment, however, was rejected by a great majority; and in lieu of it, a resolution founded upon a royal message delivered to the House by Sir Paul Methuen, for settling the sum of 100,000l. per ann. as a jointure upon the Queen, passed without difficulty.

The Parliament being dissolved in August, a new Parliament was convened in January of 1728, which

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which Arthur Onſlow, Eſq. was choſen Speaker, and which ſeemed to vie, in all expreſſions of duty and loyalty, with the moſt loyal of its predeceſſors. The King aſſured them, in his ſpeech from the throne, of the abſolute neceſſity of continuing thoſe preparations which had hitherto *ſecured the nation*, the execution of the preliminaries, actually ſigned, having been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raiſed chiefly by the obſtinate oppoſition of the Court of Madrid, although the ratifications had been actually exchanged with the Emperor. The ſum of 280,000l. was therefore voted for the maintenance of the Heſſian and Swediſh auxiliaries, and a ſubſidy of 100,000l. payable in four years to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle; who, in return, took upon him to guarantee, by a formal treaty, to his Britannic Majeſty the poſſeſſion of his three kingdoms, and to *keep in readineſs* for his ſervice a corps of 5000 men during the ſame term. This notable alliance occaſioned, however, ſome ſevere animadverſions; and Sir Joſeph Jekyl, Maſter of the Rolls, a firm and zealous Whig, but one who carried not his complaiſance to the Court ſo far as to abandon on any occaſion what he conceived to be the true intereſt of his country, in reply to Sir Robert Walpole, who had launched out into the higheſt praiſes of the Treaty of Hanover, affirmed, "That whatever gloſs might be put upon ſuch meaſures, they were repugnant to

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the maxims by which England in former times had ſteered, and ſquared its conduct with relation to its intereſts abroad—that the navy was the natural ſtrength of Great Britain, its beſt defence and ſecurity; but if, in order to avoid a war, they ſhould be ſo free-hearted as to buy and maintain the forces of foreign princes, they were never like to ſee an end of ſuch extravagant expences *." The Houſe was even prevailed upon, during the ſuſpenſion of its good humour, to addreſs the King for a particular and diſtinct account of the ſum of 250,000l. charged in the general ſtatement of national expenditure to have been iſſued "for preſerving and reſtoring the peace of Europe." His Majeſty, nevertheleſs, declined to comply with their requeſt; but informed them in general terms, that part of the money had been diſburſed by his late Majeſty,

* It may deſerve mention, that the Lord Chancellor King was ſo ſtruck with the inexpreſſible abſurdity of this *proviſional treaty* with the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, that he abſolutely refuſed to affix the Great Seal to it, till ratified by Parliament, and the money actually voted. "What," ſays an able political writer of the laſt reign, "our hiſtories may hereafter ſay of this tranſaction I know not; but the perſons then at the head of the Oppoſition *took the liberty* to declare upon that occaſion, "that we paid for a great many forces to be in *readineſs* on account of the Hanover Treaty; and laſt of all the GOOD WILL of his Highneſs the Duke of Wolfenbuttle was obtained, who engaged to guarantee ALL his Majeſty's dominions with a body of 5000 men, not to be moved out of Holland or Germany, at ſo ſmall an expence as 25,000l. per ann. for four years!"—*Caſe of the Hanover Forces.*

conform-

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comformably to the powers veſted in him by Parliament; and the remainder by himſelf, for carrying on neceſſary and important ſervices, which required the greateſt ſecrecy. And he hoped that the Houſe would repoſe the ſame confidence in him, and be aſſured that the money had been neceſſarily expended, agreeably to the ends for which it was granted. This anſwer, the Houſe, upon calmer conſideration, thought fit to approve; Sir Robert Walpole affirming it to be "impoſſible that public ſervices ſhould be carried on, conſidering the great complication of intereſts on the Continent, if *every ſhilling* that was expended for the advancement of the common cauſe, and for maintaining the balance of Europe, was known to all the world:" though Mr. Pulteney, now in open oppoſition to the Court, inveighed againſt this vague and looſe mode of accounting for the expenditure of the public money, as tending to render Parliaments altogether inſignificant; to encourage and invite the moſt ſhameful embezzlements; and to ſcreen corrupt and rapacious miniſters from even the poſſibility of detection and puniſhment. No impreſſion, however, was made by theſe reaſonings, as too plainly appeared by the diſcretionary vote of credit, paſſed at the requiſition of the Court, by 237 voices againſt 101, previous to the cloſe of the Seſſion.

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In the courſe of the preſent year arrived in England Frederic Prince of Wales, who had hitherto reſided at Hanover, as if it were determined to perpetuate the Hanoverian ſyſtem, by ſuffering no interruption of the original aſſociations and attachments of the reigning family. About this time died Erneſt Auguſtus, Biſhop of Oſnaburg, only brother of the late King, and created by him Duke of York, but never reſident in England. He was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the Elector of Cologne, agreeably to the *pactum* by which Oſnaburg is alternately poſſeſſed by a Prince of the Houſe of Brunſwic and that Elector.

The Congreſs at Soiſſons made little progreſs in the buſineſs of pacification. France and Spain were now perfectly reconciled; and the Court of Madrid, confiding in the ſtrengh of her ally, though her ſhort-lived friendſhip with the Emperor was now at an end, became leſs ſolicitous for an accommodation with England. Loud and general exclamations were raiſed, and petitions preſented from the great mercantile towns to the Houſe of Commons, at the meeting of Parliament early in the year 1729, complaining of the loſſes and obſtructions they had ſuſtained in their commerce, through the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies. The Houſe, in a grand committee, after

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after an ample inveſtigation of the ſubject, paſſed a reſolution, juſtificatory of the inſtructions given to Admiral Hoſier to ſeize the flota and galleons; and another, declaring that the Spaniards had violated the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns. And an addreſs was preſented to the King, deſiring "that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavors to procure juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for theſe injuries, and for ſecuring to his Majeſty's ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America;" which his Majeſty aſſured them he would not fail to do. The Houſe of Peers alſo reſolving itſelf into a committee on the ſtate of the nation, and the letter of the late King to the King of Spain, touching the reſtitution of Gibraltar, among other ſtate-papers, being laid before them, a reſolution was moved, "That for the honor of his Majeſty, and the preſervation and ſecurity of the trade and commerce of the kingdom, effectual care ſhould be taken, in the preſent treaty, that the King of Spain ſhould renounce, in explicit terms, all claim and pretenſion to Minorca and Gibraltar." After a violent debate the motion was negatived, but not without a ſtrong proteſt; and a ſecond motion, "That the Houſe did entirely rely upon his Majeſty, that he would, for maintaining the honor and ſecuring the trade of this kingdom, take

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effectual care in the preſent treaty to preſerve his undoubted right to Gibraltar and Minorca," paſſed in the affirmative. It is ſingular, that an addreſs was again preſented to the throne by the Commons, deſiring to be informed in what manner a large ſum, ſtated to have been expended for reſtoring the peace of Europe, was diſpoſed of; to which an anſwer, ſimilar to that returned to the former addreſs, was given, in which the Houſe had again the complaiſance to acquieſce. Previous to the receſs, the King declared his intention of viſiting his German dominions, leaving the Queen ſole regent, under whoſe mild and equitable adminiſtration no cauſe of diſcontent or diſaffection aroſe. But Ireland had been for ſome time paſt convulſed with folly and faction, in conſequence of a patent granted to one Wood, by the late King, for coining a certain quantity of copper for the uſe of that kingdom, and which was confeſſedly much wanted for the purpoſes of commercial intercourſe. The coinage being found of a baſe and inferior quality, the famous Swift, Dean of St. Patrick, ſeized with eagerneſs the opportunity of venting his ſpleen and rancor againſt the Government, by publiſhing a ſeries of tracts, in which he attempted to prove, that the ruin of the kingdom muſt be the inevitable conſequence of this abuſe. Lord Carteret, being now appointed to the government of Ireland, was compelled to iſſue, in

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in his official capacity, a proclamation offering a reward for the diſcovery of the author of theſe ſeditious and libellous publications. Notwithſtanding which, this haughty and factious prieſt ventured to appear at all places of public reſort as uſual, and had even, in the preſence-chamber of the Caſtle of Dublin, the boldneſs to expoſtulate with the Lord Lieutenant upon the pretended tyranny and iniquity of this proclamation, and preſumed to aſk, "how it was poſſible that his Excellency could ſuffer it be iſſued?" To which Lord Carteret, indulging the ſympathies of friendſhip and genius, with equal elegance and magnanimity replied, *Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt moliri.* Under the adminiſtration of this nobleman peace and order were reſtored and eſtabliſhed, various excellent laws were enacted for the encouragement of manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, and many ſalutary regulations adopted in the civil departments of government. The beneficial effects of a liberal and enlightened policy were univerſally felt; and the Parliament of that kingdom, in their unanimous approval of the meaſures of their preſent Governor, paid that homage to wiſdom which it had frequently been known to refuſe to power.

The Congreſs of Soiſſons proving finally abortive, conferences were opened at Seville between the Miniſters of France, Spain, and England,

land, to the exclusion of the Emperor, who conceived much resentment at this affront; and a treaty was signed in the month of May 1729, of which his Imperial Majesty openly and heavily complained to the Diet assembled at Ratisbon, as contrary to the express stipulations of the Quadruple Alliance. In the course of this year Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, resigned his crown to his son Charles Emanuel, and, retiring to the castle of Chamberri, espoused the Countess of St. Sebastian, who refused with disdain the title, as she could not participate in the power, of royalty. In October (1729) died Peter II. Czar of Muscovy, and grandson of Peter the Great, by the unfortunate Alexiowitz. He was succeeded on the throne of Russia by the Princess Anne Iwanowna, Duchess of Courland, second daughter of the Czar Iwan, elder brother to Peter the Great. Early in the following year died Pope Benedict XIII., and was succeeded by Cardinal Corsini, already near 80 years of age, who nevertheless filled the Papal chair ten years under the name of Clement XII.

At this eventful period also a sudden and surprising revolution, if under so despotic a government any revolution can surprise, took place at Constantinople, by the deposition of the Grand Seignor Achmet III. and the elevation of his nephew Mahmout or Mahomet V. From the æra of the memo-

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memorable victory obtained by the illuſtrious Sobieſki under the walls of Vienna, the Ottoman power had ſuffered a great and rapid decline; and Mahomet IV. who had ſucceeded when an infant to the throne, on the depoſition of his father the Sultan Ibrahim (A. D. 1648), was himſelf, in conſequence of the general rage excited by the misfortunes of that diſaſtrous war, compelled to ſubmit to the ſame fate. During the ſhort and feeble reigns of his brothers Solyman II. and Achmet II., the triumphs of the Imperialiſts continued. The reign of the ſucceeding Emperor Muſtapha II., ſon of Mahomet IV., was diſtinguiſhed by the famous battle of Zenta won by Prince Eugene, and the conſequent treaty of Carlowitz. After a reign of ſeven years, the Sultan Muſtapha was, by another revolution, hurled from his throne, and his brother Achmet III. raiſed to the ſame high and dangerous pre-eminence. This Prince is well known by his hoſpitable and generous reception of the King of Sweden, after the defeat of that monarch at Pultowa. Being afterwards involved in a war with the Emperor Charles VI., his armies were repeatedly defeated by Prince Eugene, and the war was terminated, greatly to the diſadvantage of the Turks, by a treaty concluded under the mediation of Great Britain at Paſſarowitz, A. D. 1718. The avarice and oppreſſion of his ſubſequent government, together with the war carried on negligently and unſucceſsfully againſt the Perſians, made

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made the reign of Achmet odious to the people. Recourſe being had to a very unuſual and dangerous expedient in Turkey, the impoſition of a new tax called the *Bedead*, a ſpecies of exciſe very arbitrary in the collection, in order to defray the expence of this war, three Janiſaries, named Calil, Muſlu, and Ali, very obſcure men, fancying themſelves particularly aggrieved by it, aſſembled, in the abſence of the Grand Seignor and Grand Vizier then at Scutari, a conſiderable number of their comrades in the *Atmeidan*, where they preſented to them a naked ſword on which they had themſelves ſworn, and required of all who engaged with them to ſwear the death of the Grand Vizier, the Caimacan, and the Reis Effendi. The Aga of the Janiſaries repairing in haſte to the Atmeidan, Calil demanded if he were come to join the brave Muſſulmen who were reſolved on a reformation in the ſtate, and the puniſhment of the tyrants? The Aga, being deſtitute of force to ſuppreſs the revolters, retired in ſilence. The Sultan, attended by the Vizier, returned with precipitation on the firſt intelligence of this inſurrection at Conſtantinople, where they arrived at midnight. On the next morning, by order of the Emperor, the ſtandard of Mahomet was diſplayed, but without effect; and the number of revolters continually increaſing, the Seraglio was on the day following formally inveſted. Meaſures being now in preparation to force

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force the gates of the palace, their aſtoniſhment was great to ſee the dead bodies of the proſcribed miniſters brought out on litters, preceded by an officer of the Boſtangis, who announced the condeſcenſion of the Emperor, and commanded them in his name to ſeparate. The three leaders of the revolt, fully aware of the danger of their ſituation, expreſſed their diſſatisfaction at this conceſſion, and, declaring the Sultan Achmet unworthy of the throne, boldly exclaimed, that they would have Sultan Mahmoud for their ſovereign. The name of Mahmoud was repeated with loud acclamations, reſounding even to the inmoſt receſſes of the Seraglio. The Sultan Achmet haſtily aſſembling a Divan, aſked, with a faltering voice, what the rebels had yet to deſire; on which an Iman replied, "My Lord, thy reign is at an end—thy revolted ſubjects will no longer have thee for a maſter—They demand with ſhouts thy nephew Mahmoud—it is in vain for thee to flatter thyſelf that they will return to their allegiance." At theſe words the Sultan turned pale, but, ſoon recovering himſelf, ſaid, "Why was I not informed of this ſooner? Follow me." Immediately he went to the priſon of Mahmoud, attended by all the members of the Divan; and, having taken that Prince by the hand, "The wheel has turned for you as for me," ſaid he to him, conducting him to the Divan chamber; "I reſign to you the throne which Muſtapha

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tapha my brother reſigned to me." After which he returned to the apartment from whence he had taken Mahmoud, there to end his life. Thus in the ſpace of about eighty years no leſs than four Emperors had been ſucceſſively dethroned at Conſtantinople by lawleſs and popular violence. A demonſtration ſo ſtriking of the inſtability and inſecurity of military and deſpotic governments, might ſurely ſuffice to reconcile the proudeſt deſpot to the eſtabliſhment of a regular and permanent ſyſtem of liberty *,

The Parliament of England aſſembling in January 1730, the King, in his ſpeech from the throne, declared the peace of Europe to be firmly eſtabliſhed by the Treaty of Seville, which was built, as he aſſerted, on the foundation of the Quadruple Alliance. He affirmed, that Spain had agreed to an ample reſtitution and reparation for all unlawful ſeizures and depredations; that the free and uninterrupted exerciſe of Britiſh commerce was fully ſe-

* It is ſaid that a Grand Vizier of Turkey once inquiring of Mr. Montague, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, whether it were really true, as he had been informed, that the Engliſh nation had ſtruck off the head of one of their kings on a public ſcaffold? the Ambaſſador anſwered, that it was: And the Vizier farther inquiring at what diſtance of time this incredible act of wickedneſs and rebellion had been committed, the Ambaſſador told the Vizier, with great coolneſs, that, to the beſt of his recollection, it was in the very ſame year in which the Grand Seignor Ibrahim was depoſed, and ſtrangled by the Janiſaries.

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cured; and that all rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions belonging to him and his allies were confirmed and ſolemnly guaranteed. Violent oppoſition was made to the terms of this treaty when ſubmitted to the inveſtigation of Parliament; though it muſt be acknowledged that ſome of the objections urged by the patriots, when viewed through the long viſta of years which has now intervened, appear rather minute and captious. They affirmed that the article by which the Britiſh merchants were required to make proof of their loſſes at the Court of Madrid was injurious to them, and diſhonorable to the nation; and that there was little probability of obtaining that redreſs by means of commiſſaries, which was refuſed to plenipotentiaries. They complained that the right of Great Britain to Gibraltar and Minorca was not acknowledged in this treaty; they diſliked the guarantee of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos and his ſucceſſors, as a conceſſion which might involve Great Britain in future quarrels about a country with which we had no concern. But the principal objection, and that which conſtituted the chief ground of the high offence taken by the Emperor, was founded upon that article of the treaty by which England not only guaranteed the ſucceſſion of theſe Duchies to the Infant, but engaged to convey a body of Spaniſh troops to Italy, in order to ſecure thoſe poſſeſſions without

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without waiting for the Imperial inveſtiture; which was not only an open and flagrant affront offered to the Imperial dignity, but likewiſe a palpable deviation from the letter of the Quadruple Alliance, by which neutral troops only were to be admitted, till the inveſtitures were granted. And if any obſtacles aroſe in carrying this article of the Convention of Seville into execution, the contracting parties, in conjunction with France, under whoſe mediation it was concluded, agreed by force of arms to obtain the accompliſhment of it. So much incenſed was the Court of Vienna at the inſult, ſtill more perhaps than the injury, offered in the treaty of Seville, that his Imperial Majeſty iſſued an edict, prohibiting the ſubjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions; and made great military preparations and demonſtrations of a determination to aſſert his rights by a declaration of war. In the courſe of this ſeſſion, and while things remained in this poſture, a very warm debate aroſe in conſequence of a Bill introduced by the Miniſter to prevent any ſubject of Great Britain from advancing money by way of loan to foreign Princes or States, without licenſe firſt obtained from his Majeſty under his privy ſeal. This Bill was ably oppoſed by Sir John Bernard, one of the repreſentatives of the city of London, a man of ſtrict integrity and extenſive commercial knowledge, as "a meaſure which would render Holland the mart of money to

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to the nations of the Continent. He ſaid that by this general prohibition the Engliſh were diſabled from aſſiſting their beſt allies; that the King of Portugal frequently borrowed money of the Engliſh merchants reſiding within his dominions; that the licenſing power was liable to dangerous abuſe; and that the clauſe which empowered the Attorney General to compel the diſcovery on oath of ſuch loans, would convert the Court of Exchequer into a Court of Inquiſition." In conſequence of theſe arguments the Bill was modified in ſuch a manner as to render it much leſs exceptionable; and it was declared, "that the object of it was merely to prevent the ſubjects of the State from aſſiſting the enemies of the State. It was well known that at this very time the Emperor was negotiating a loan in the metropolis, and it was manifeſtly impolitic and abſurd to permit individuals to enrich themſelves by any mode of traffic detrimental to the general intereſts of the kingdom." The Bill at length paſſed; and it muſt be acknowledged, that the principle on which it is founded appears perfectly equitable, and that no inconvenience has, in fact, been found to reſult from it.

A Bill paſſed by the Commons in the courſe of this ſeſſion "for making more effectual the laws in being for diſabling perſons from being choſen Members of Parliament, who enjoyed any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or

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any office holden in truſt for them," was rejected on the ſecond reading by the Lords; and on the 15th of May 1730 the King went to the Houſe of Peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which very harſh and angry mention was made of "thoſe *incendiaries* who, by ſcandalous libels, labored to alienate the affections of his people, to fill their minds with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, in diſhonor of him and his government, and in defiance of the ſenſe of both Houſes of Parliament *."

Early in the year 1731, the Parliament was again convened, and the ſeſſion opened by a remarkable ſpeech from the throne, indicating a very extraordinary and alarming ſituation of affairs. The King declared, "that in conſequence of the meaſures formerly taken, and the concluſion of the treaty of Seville, the dangerous conſequences ſo juſtly apprehended from the treaty of Vienna were entirely obviated; and that union which had alarmed all Europe not only diſſolved, but the

* The *ſcandalous libels* mentioned in the King's ſpeech were ſuppoſed chiefly to allude to the periodical papers entitled "The Craftſman," ſupported by the ableſt political writers of the age, Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Pulteney being themſelves of the number, and in which the meaſures of the adminiſtration were attacked with equal animoſity, wit, and argument. So tranſient, however, is the fame attached to controverſial politics, that this publication, ſo admired and celebrated in its day, is already conſigned to obſcurity and almoſt to oblivion.

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treaty of Hanover ſtrengthened by the additional power of the Crown of Spain. His Majeſty obſerved, that from this ſituation of affairs juſt hopes were entertained that the conditions of the treaty of Seville would have been complied with without the neceſſity of coming to extremities; but that this deſirable event had been hitherto delayed: and as the treaty impoſed an obligation upon all the contracting parties to prepare for the execution of it, WE muſt be in readineſs to perform OUR part, in order to procure the ſatisfaction due to our allies. The reſolutions of Parliament were expected by foreign Powers with impatience, and the great event of peace or war would be very much affected by their firſt deciſions. He ſaid, that *the plan of operations for the execution of the treaty of Seville by* FORCE *was now under conſideration*; that their juſt concern for the true intereſt of their country would, he doubted not, induce them to grant the ſupplies neceſſary to make good his engagements, with that cheerfulneſs and affection which became a Britiſh Houſe of Commons tender of the honor of the Crown, careful and ſolicitous for the glory and proſperity of the kingdom." Never was the truth more apparent than at the preſent moment, of the memorable obſervation of Lord Moleſworth on a former occaſion, and which well deſerves the repetition, "that to a man acquainted only with the ſituation of Great

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Britain, and unappriſed of the ſeveral petty intereſts of the Electorate of Hanover, the conduct of the Engliſh Court would appear not only fluctuating and capricious, but abſolutely unintelligible and incomprehenſible." For what ſhadow of pretence, connected with the intereſt of Great Britain, could be deviſed to juſtify or palliate an outrage upon the Emperor, ſo flagrant as the forcible introduction of foreign troops into Parma and Placentia by a Britiſh fleet, for the purpoſe of transferring thoſe Duchies, which were acknowledged fiefs of the Empire, to the King of Spain, previous to the inveſtiture of his Imperial Majeſty, and in direct contradiction to the laws and conſtitutions of the Empire; by this means wantonly and voluntarily incurring the eventual riſque of a war with the Houſe of Auſtria, the antient, natural, and faithful ally of Great Britain? The key to this apparently unaccountable and extravagant conduct is, however, perfectly eaſy. The two Imperial Courts of Vienna and Peterſburg had not yet relinquiſhed their deſigns in favor of the Duke of Holſtein; and ſtill flattered that Prince with the hope of procuring, either by amicable or hoſtile means, the reſtitution of the Duchy of Sleſwic, guaranteed originally by Hanover, and afterwards by England, to the King of Denmark. So long, therefore, as this project was entertained, ſo long did the Elector-kings of England conſider

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their favorite acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden, which were the price and reward of that guarantee, as in the moſt imminent danger. For the ſole purpoſe of counteracting this project was the Treaty of Hanover concluded; for this purpoſe was the inſidious policy of France countenanced and encouraged by a continued refuſal, on the part of England, to aſſent to the edict of the Pragmatic Sanction; for this purpoſe was the ambition of Spain gratified by the forcible introduction of troops into the Parmeſan. In vain was it alleged, in oppoſition to the propoſed addreſs of approbation and ſupport, "that our anceſtors were never ſo complaiſant as to declare their approval of meaſures without full and regular information reſpecting them. Why was it that the Houſe pledged itſelf for the ſupport of *any meaſures* of the executive government? Doubtleſs, on the ground of their being juſt and reaſonable. But who could pronounce the meaſures in contemplation juſt, when no one could ſay what they were, or what they might ultimately prove to be? Every one, indeed, knew the enormous expence which this nation had incurred in their endeavors to reduce the exorbitant power of France, which, by a fatal negligence, had been ſuffered to ariſe to a height which menaced the general liberties of Europe. But by joining the Houſe of Bourbon in this war againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, France

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might be enabled to extend her conquests beyond the Rhine, or, perhaps, to annex the Low Countries to her empire, and become more formidable than ever. It was affirmed, that French alliances had ever been fatal to England; that our Kings, by a connection with France, had been led to imbibe the love of arbitrary power, and encouraged to entertain designs against the liberty of their subjects; and that Gallic faith was to be depended upon no farther than their interest was concerned in adhering to it; that their enmity to England was inveterate; and that we should, in the end, pay dear for any temporary favors which they may seem to confer." And an amendment to the address was offered, "that his Majesty should be desired not to concur in a war against the Emperor either in Flanders or upon the Rhine."

The Walpoles, and the courtiers in general who took part in the debate, maintained, in opposition to these objections, "that his Majesty's prudence was so great, and had been so strikingly manifested in his whole conduct since his happy accession, that no suspicion could reasonably be entertained of the propriety of his present or future measures; that the amendment now proposed was an encroachment on his Majesty's prerogative. They acknowledged that France ought not to extend the bounds of her empire, and his Majesty would, *no doubt*, take proper precautions to prevent the inconveniences

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conveniences apprehended from the weight of the confederacy againſt the Houſe of Auſtria; that the deſign of the potent alliance formed againſt the Emperor was to convince him of the impoſſibility of a ſucceſsful reſiſtance; it would be groſsly impolitic, therefore, if the allies were reſtrained from attacking him in Flanders, or on the Rhine, where he was moſt vulnerable. By enfeebling the operations of the war, ſuch reſtraint would virtually and proportionally add to the ſtrength of the Emperor, and thereby make a pacification hopeleſs and impracticable." Another amendment was then propoſed, far more judicious and comprehenſive: "That the Houſe would ſupport his Majeſty's engagements ſo far as they related to the intereſt of Great Britain;" and it was urged by Mr. Wyndham, the mover of it, "that the Act of Settlement, by virtue of which his Majeſty held the Crown of theſe realms, expreſsly provided that this nation ſhall not be obliged to enter into a war for the defence of any dominions not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain; and that the Houſe *could not* therefore, agreeably to this Act, go farther than the amendment imported." To this the Miniſter and the courtiers replied, "that the adoption of this amendment would *ſeem to inſinuate* that his Majeſty *had* entered into engagements that did not relate to the intereſts of Great Britain; which would be the higheſt diſreſpect and ingratitude,

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when thoſe who had the honor to ſerve his Majeſty could teſtify that the intereſt of Great Britain was the ſole object of his Majeſty's ſolicitude. They ſaid that every member of the Houſe was, they hoped, convinced that his Majeſty never would enter into any engagement that was not abſolutely neceſſary for the happineſs and ſafety of his people, and therefore it was wholly unneceſſary to narrow the aſſurances of ſupport in the addreſs by any ſuch limitation." The Houſe ſeeming, however, to pauſe upon the validity of theſe arguments, more fit indeed for a Turkiſh Divan than a Britiſh Senate, Mr. Heathcote aroſe, and declared, "that the offering of advice to his Majeſty could never be regarded by him as an encroachment on the prerogative, ſince it was the proper buſineſs of Parliament, which was the King's Great Council, to adviſe the Crown in all matters of importance —it was what many Parliaments had done, and what they were obliged in duty to do; that to ſupport any hoſtile operations againſt the Emperor in Flanders or upon the Rhine, was abſolutely deſtructive to the intereſt of England, tending evidently to the total ſubverſion of the balance of power; and the Houſe had, therefore, good reaſon to believe that no Miniſter would DARE to adviſe his Majeſty to concur in ſuch a meaſure. Upon that account only he conſidered it as ſuperfluous to adviſe his Majeſty againſt it; that unani-

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unanimity in their reſolves was certainly deſirable, and would undoubtedly add great weight to his Majeſty's endeavors to effect a general accommodation of differences; that for his part he looked upon all addreſſes, containing aſſurances of ſupport, as in their nature general, and no farther obligatory than the meaſures to be ſupported ſhall be found conducive to the public intereſt; that he, therefore, willingly concurred in the addreſs as originally moved, taking it at preſent for granted, that the engagements alluded to were ſuch as the intereſts of Great Britain required: but leaving himſelf at full liberty to object to any ſpecific meaſures which ſhould be moved by the Miniſters of the Crown in purſuance of this addreſs, if they appeared to him, in any reſpect, inconſiſtent with the public welfare. He was ſure that his Majeſty could mean nothing but what was for the advantage of the nation; and if the engagements in queſtion proved otherwiſe, he ſhould conſider them as the engagements of the Miniſter, not of the King." Sir Joſeph Jekyl and ſeveral other reſpectable and independent members declaring, that they regarded addreſſes preciſely in the ſame light and agreeably to the explanation now given, the Oppoſition acquieſced, and the queſtion paſſed in the affirmative without a diviſion. But it could not eſcape the penetration of the Miniſter, how repugnant to the feelings of the Houſe was

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the idea now ſuggeſted of carrying on an offenſive war againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, in concert with the two branches of the Houſe of Bourbon. Ever ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Hanover, a very large body of auxiliaries had been kept, at an immenſe expence, in conſtant pay, from the inceſſant apprehenſion of a war. But when the eſtimate for the charge of maintaining 12,000 Heſſians came before the Houſe, it was objected againſt as entirely ſuperfluous. It was ſaid, that if fears and apprehenſions would juſtify the waſte of money thus laviſhed in ſubſidies, we ſhould never be free from theſe burdens; that it was time enough to hire troops when we were actually involved in war; and there was no doubt, from the diſpoſition of the European princes, that men might be always had for money. Theſe objections, however, were over-ruled, and the troops continued in pay, under the idea that to diſmiſs them at the preſent criſis, though their actual ſervices might not be called for, would tend to encourage the Emperor in his contumacy.

Notwithſtanding the recent convention of Seville, complaints were renewed from all parts of the depredations and cruelties committed by the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies: and the Houſe of Commons, ſatisfied of the truth of theſe allegations, preſented an addreſs to the King, deſiring "that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue

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continue his endeavor to prevent ſuch depredations for the future; to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their trade and navigation, to and from the Britiſh colonies in America."

A very judicious Bill was at this period introduced into Parliament, and paſſed into a law, for preventing delays of juſtice occaſioned by the uſe of the Latin tongue in proceedings at law, and enacting that all thoſe proceſſes and pleadings ſhould be entered in the Engliſh language. There are not wanting, however, at all times many inveterate enemies of INNOVATION, "who cheriſh old prejudices becauſe they are prejudices," and who have in all ages been found equally eager and obſtinate in oppoſing the moſt ſalutary reforms; and it was urged by this claſs of men, on the preſent occaſion, that this Bill would render uſeleſs the antient records, which were written in that language—and, far from expediting, would introduce confuſion and delay of juſtice, by altering the ESTABLISHED form and method of judicial proceedings. Theſe reaſonings, however, did not prevail; and this law remains an incontrovertible proof, that INNOVATION may *poſſibly* be the medium of improvement.

In the debate on the Penſion Bill, now for the ſecond time paſſed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords, Dr. Sherlock Biſhop of Bangor gave high offence,

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offence, by declaring "that an independent Houſe of Commons, or an independent Houſe of Lords, is as inconſiſtent with our conſtitutions as an independent, that is abſolute, King; and that a lover of his country will no more deſire to ſee the one than the other." This propoſition, nevertheleſs, underſtood in a ſober and qualified ſenſe, cannot be juſtly controverted. For a Parliament abſolutely independent of the Crown would in a ſhort time infallibly reduce the Crown to a ſtate of abſolute and abject dependence upon itſelf. And, unqueſtionably, it is not by the perpetual conflicts of authority, but by the reciprocal dependence of the different branches of Government, that the balance of the Conſtitution, and the harmony of its movements, are moſt advantageouſly and effectually preſerved. And a total annihilation of that influence, the prodigious and dangerous preponderance of which this Bill was wiſely calculated to check, would be attended with a train of new and alarming political evils. Lord Carteret, who had now joined the Oppoſition, defended the principle and practical operation of this Bill with great eloquence and energy. In conſequence of the Biſhop of Bangor's invidious oppoſition to it, a motion was made for leave to bring a Bill into the Houſe of Commons, to prevent the tranſlation of Biſhops; which, the utmoſt influence of the Court being exerted againſt it, paſſed, on a diviſion, in the negative.

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On the 7th of May 1731 the Seſſion was terminated by a ſpeech, in which his Majeſty informed the two Houſes "that a treaty of peace had been ſigned at Vienna*, and the ratifications exchanged between him and the Emperor. As this Treaty, he ſaid, principally regarded thee xecution of the Treaty of Seville, it was communicated to the Courts of France and Spain, as parties to that Treaty; and it was now under the conſideration of the States-General, who had been invited to accede to it. He added, that the new engagements entered into by him on this occaſion were agreeable to the neceſſary concern which this nation muſt always have for the ſecurity and preſervation of the balance of power in Europe: and he expreſſed his aſſurance, that all malicious inſinuations to the prejudice of his meaſures muſt vaniſh, when it ſo evidently appeared that his firſt and principal care had been for the intereſt and honor of this kingdom." By this Treaty his Imperial Majeſty agreed that Spain ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Duchies of Parma and Placentia for the Infant Don Carlos, in the mode preſcribed by the Treaty of Seville; and that the Oſtend Company, which had given ſuch umbrage to the maritime powers, ſhould be totally diſſolved, on condition that England and the other contracting powers of the Treaty of Seville ſhould become

* March 16, 1731.

guarantees

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guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction. And the Duke of Parma dying at this juncture, an Engliſh fleet under Sir Charles Wager was fitted out, which having joined the Spaniſh fleet at Barcelona, convoyed the Spaniſh troops deſtined for Italy to Leghorn, Don Carlos himſelf taking the route of France; when, the Imperial forces which had marched into Parma being withdrawn, the Infant took peaceable poſſeſſion of his new territories.

Thus at length was terminated the violent and acrimonious conteſt, which for more than ſeven years had divided the Houſe of Auſtria from Great Britain, its antient and faithful ally. And nothing can be more clear and evident, from an impartial review and ſummary of facts, than that the quarrel originated ſolely in the unfortunate connection formed by this nation, at the acceſſion of the preſent royal family, with the Electorate of Hanover, whoſe intereſts ſtood almoſt conſtantly and diametrically oppoſed to thoſe of England. Jealous of the aſpiring views of the Houſe of Lunenburg in the Empire, the Emperor could never be brought cordially to concur in the meaſures concerted for the ſecurity of the new acquiſitions of Bremen and Verden, and ſtill leſs in the inſidious deſigns of the Court of Herenhauſen upon the Duchy of Mecklenburg; although, to merit the favor of the Court of Vienna, the King of England ſcrupled not to engage in a war with Spain,

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Spain, with whom Great Britain had then no imaginable pretence of diſpute, and actually effected the transfer of the iſland of Sicily from the Houſe of Savoy to the Houſe of Auſtria. Finding the Emperor ſtill cold and intractable, it was thought neceſſary to enter into ſtricter connections with France, who readily gave her countenance and ſupport to the petty ſchemes of electoral aggrandizement, ſo long as the Houſe of Auſtria was deprived, by this artful policy, of the ſtrength ſhe derived from the powerful alliance of Great Britain. By the Treaty ſigned at Madrid, therefore, A. D. 1721, a SECRET DEFENSIVE ALLIANCE was, by a SEPARATE ARTICLE, concluded between England, France, and Spain, to which the Dutch were left at liberty to accede, and all the late acquiſitions of Hanover ſecured by an EXPLICIT GUARANTEE: and, in return, Spain was artfully and inſidiouſly flattered with the hope of the reſtitution of Gibraltar. After the concluſion of this Treaty, the Court of London was very little ſolicitous to obtain for the Emperor advantageous or ſatisfactory terms of pacification with Spain; and the Congreſs of Cambray, which was convened under the pretended mediation of England and France, after a long and tedious negotiation, broke up *re infectâ*. But the Court of Spain in proceſs of time, finding her expectation of recovering Gibraltar wholly deluſive, and enraged at the affront

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affront offered to the Infanta by France, became anxious to eſtabliſh a real and permanent amity with the Emperor—not, however, without inviting the King of England to become the ſole arbitrator of their differences. Though nothing, certainly, could be more favorable to the intereſts of Great Britain, than this happy occaſion of detaching Spain for ever from her connection with France; it was rejected, from the apprehenſion of giving umbrage to that power, upon whom Hanover at this period relied for the ſupport of her new acquiſitions and farther ſchemes of aggrandizement. A treaty of peace and alliance, nevertheleſs, between Spain and the Emperor being quickly ſigned at Vienna, without the intervention of any foreign power, the memorable Treaty of Hanover was concluded between England and France, to which all the powers of Europe under their influence were urged to accede. In order to give a plauſible color to this treaty, ſo contrary to the intereſts of Great Britain, much was ſaid on the neceſſity of reducing the exorbitant power of the Houſe of Auſtria, which England had lately been at ſuch an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure to eſtabliſh. And a violent and abſurd clamor was raiſed againſt the Imperial Eaſt-India Company of Oſtend, as creating a rivalſhip fatal to the commercial intereſts of Great Britain. But the real object of the Treaty of Hanover, on the part of

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of the King of England, was evidently no other than to counterbalance the deſigns of the two Imperial Courts, now in ſtrict alliance with Spain, for the reſtoration of Sleſwic, Bremen, and Verden, the evacuation of Mecklenburg, and the final annihilation of the ambitious projects of Hanover. The views by which France was actuated were, however, of a far more elevated and comprehenſive nature. For the great object of the policy of the Court of Vienna, at this period, being to ſecure to the eldeſt daughter of the Emperor the undivided ſucceſſion of the Houſe of Auſtria, France could diſcover no other method ſo certain to defeat that deſign, and to lay the foundation of the ruin of that Houſe, and its own conſequent unrivalled pre-eminence, by the diſmemberment of its vaſt poſſeſſions, whenever the diſſolution of the Emperor, now in the decline of life, ſhould take place, than to detach Great Britain entirely from its antient and natural ally. The Treaties of Vienna and Hanover, A. D. 1725, in which almoſt all the powers of Europe were parties, had nearly given riſe to a general war; which, however, was with much difficulty averted by the preliminaries ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle A. D. 1727. At the enſuing conferences for a final pacification at Soiſſons, France having found means to effect a reconciliation with Spain, the Court of Vienna, which ſtill eſpouſed the intereſts of the Dukes of Holſtein

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Holſtein and Mecklenburg, found itſelf greatly overbalanced and almoſt deſerted. The Imperial Miniſter's demand of the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was treated with neglect and contempt; and the Engliſh Miniſters, *after having conferred with thoſe of France*, anſwered, that the Pragmatic Sanction was not the point in queſtion; that, not being the object of the preſent diſputes, it ought not to be a ſubject of the preſent negotiations, and that the propoſition was not *traitable*. The plenipotentiaries of Holland, however, who were not under the ſame artificial and extrinſic bias, refuſed to join in this anſwer—declaring, on the contrary, that they thought it a point which might hereafter ſo highly affect the tranquillity of Europe, that it deſerved conſideration at leaſt, and an inquiry what the Emperor would do in exchange for it. Thus the Congreſs of Soiſſons broke up, like the former Congreſs of Cambray, to the mutual ſatisfaction of France and Hanover, leaving the ſecurity of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion to the deciſion of chance and fortune. It was now the policy of France to accommodate the differences ſubſiſting between the Courts of Madrid and London, and to unite them both in a firm oppoſition to the Emperor. For this purpoſe the Treaty of Seville was concluded, under the mediation of France, and mortal offence given to the Emperor, by the ſtipulated introduction of Spaniſh troops into the Duchies of Parma

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and Placentia, previous to the granting the Imperial inveſtiture. Upon ſuch high ground did the Court of London, or rather of Herenhauſen, now conceive itſelf to ſtand, that it preſumed to inſult the Emperor by an offer, made (1730), in conjunction with her high allies, France and Spain, to guarantee the ſucceſſion of the Auſtrian dominions—*in* ITALY *only*—to the Arch-ducheſs Maria Thereſa, eldeſt daughter of the Emperor, on the condition that the affairs of SLESWIC and MECKLENBURG were regulated to their joint ſatisfaction. This propoſition, however, was rejected with diſdain; and his Imperial Majeſty appearing determined to riſque a war with the Houſe of Bourbon, —a war in which England had with the groſſeſt and moſt culpable inattention to her intereſts and even to her ſafety, and the extreme hazard of entirely ſubverting the balance of power in Europe, involved herſelf as a principal,—the miniſters of the Crown, who had ventured to the edge of the precipice, as the criſis approached, recoiled at the view of the gulph into which they were about to plunge. Apparently alarmed at the raſhneſs and abſurdity of their own projects, they ſuddenly reſolved to ſet on foot a negotiation at Vienna; as the baſis of which, an offer was made of the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, including the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion, by Great Britain. This the Emperor readily and

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gladly embraced. In return, the inveſtitures of Bremen and Verden were conceded; Hanover was to receive a ſtipulated ſum in lieu of all its claims upon Mecklenburg; and, "*to preſerve the peace of* LOWER SAXONY, *and to put an end to the* CAUSE *of troubles in the* NORTH," the Emperor and Ruſſia guaranteed SLESWIC to the King of Denmark, upon condition that one million of rix-dollars were paid to the Duke of Holſtein as an *equivalent*—500,000 down, and 100,000 per ann. till the whole was completed*. And however reluctant the Duke of Holſtein might be to part with Sleſwic upon ſuch terms, he was compelled to accept of this pretended equivalent, or ſeek elſewhere for protectors. The Treaty of Vienna being concluded without the participation of France, in direct contravention of an article of the Treaty of

* It is a curious circumſtance, that Denmark declared itſelf under no obligation to make good this equivalent—having been long in actual poſſeſſion of Sleſwic under the guarantee of Hanover. And though his Daniſh Majeſty afterwards conſented to the payment of this ſum, it will be found, conformably to the accounts delivered in to Parliament, Feb. 10 and 12, 1735, that the ſums paid, or to be paid, on different pretences to Denmark within a certain ſpecified time, amount to the complete ſum of *one million of rix-dollars*: ſo that there exiſts a ſtrong preſumption that the Duchy of Sleſwic, thus bought and ſold by contract of two foreign potentates, was at laſt paid for out of the pockets of the ſimple and unſuſpecting people of Great Britain.

Hanover,

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Hanover, all real amity between the two Courts of London and Verſailles was now at an end; and a cold exterior civility ſucceeded to that confidence which had ſubſiſted without interruption for the ſpace of fifteen years. The Treaty of Hanover was conſidered on both ſides as virtually renounced by the late Treaty of Vienna, to which the States-General ſoon acceded, and which ſeemed to eſtabliſh, by the guarantee of the maritime powers, the Pragmatic Sanction, ſo much the object of Gallic jealouſy and averſion, on a firm and ſolid baſis. The politics of Europe now reverted to their antient and regular order. But it is obvious that England and Holland had undertaken this guarantee, at a period far leſs favorable than that which had occurred at the former Treaty of Vienna, ſix years before; and that through a prepoſterous predilection and attachment to the views and intereſts of Hanover, a moſt propitious opportunity of diſſolving for ever the political connection of Spain and France was irretrievably loſt; and that by the re-union of thoſe powers, France was encouraged to perſiſt in proſecuting thoſe ſchemes of ambition which ſhe had long cheriſhed for the future humiliation of the Houſe of Auſtria, and which, in the ſequel, England thought it neceſſary to employ ſuch mighty efforts to oppoſe and defeat. "Truth," ſays a noble cotemporary writer, "ſhould be made known; and it ſhould be

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known to thoſe whom it moſt imports to know it—thoſe are the beſt friends to the King and Kingdom, who, by ſhewing how incompatible the intereſts of the Electorate are with thoſe of Great Britain, may ſuggeſt the prudent and neceſſary meaſure of ſeparating the dominions themſelves, and ſupplying that great defect in the Act of Settlement, which every body now wiſhes had been done, and wonders was not *."

On the regular return of the ſeſſion, Jan. 1732, the King made an elaborate ſpeech to both Houſes, containing a very high eulogium upon his own conduct. He congratulated the Parliament "on the reſtoration of the general tranquillity; and he affirmed, that the part taken in the late tranſactions by the Crown of Great Britain had redounded much to *the honor and intereſt* of the nation. By the Treaty of Seville, he ſaid, that union of the Imperial and Catholic Crowns, which had given

* Vide a ſeries of Tracts ſtyled, "Caſe of the Hanover Forces," with a firſt and ſecond "Vindication" of the ſame, aſcribed to the Earl of Cheſterfield. The firſt of theſe tracts was anſwered by Mr. Horace Walpole, afterwards Lord Walpole, brother to the Miniſter, in a publication ſtyled, "The Intereſts of Great Britain ſteadily purſued." Lord Cheſterfield, in his Vindication, ſhrewdly remarks, "that the three years in which the writer of the pamphlet declared himſelf ſo violently againſt Hanover-projects," ought at leaſt to be excepted out of the Britiſh ſcheme of politics, which he undertakes to demonſtrate hath been ſo *ſteadily purſued*."

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ſuch univerſal alarm, had been diſſolved; and the execution of that treaty, ſuppoſed to be attended with inſurmountable difficulties, was at length happily accompliſhed. Parma and Placentia were in the actual poſſeſſion of Don Carlos, and the reverſion of Tuſcany ſecured by an expreſs convention with the Great Duke. Parliament had ſeen, he ſaid, the happy effects of their zeal and reſolution—and now reaped the fruits of the confidence which they had repoſed in him; and it muſt be a great ſatisfaction to them to reflect that the expence incurred had been ſo amply recompenſed." It is obſervable, that in the whole ſeries of royal ſpeeches and meſſages in this and the preceding reign, not a ſyllable is mentioned of Bremen, Sleſwic, or Mecklenburg, the ſecret ſprings of every reſolution taken by the Engliſh Court reſpecting the affairs of the Continent for almoſt twenty years paſt. And with a firm reliance on the complaiſance of the Parliament, and the ignorance of the people, a bold—for a harſher epithet would be indecorous—a bold attempt was now made to eſtabliſh the idea that the quarrel between Great Britain and the Emperor reſpected ſolely the inveſtiture of the Duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia:—although, had this indeed been the fact, ſcarcely would it have amounted to an extenuation of the folly. For to whom theſe Duchies ſhould belong, was an object wholly

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beneath the attention of Great Britain: and admitting the neceſſity of preſerving the equipoiſe of power, they could be conſidered as little more than duſt in the balance. If King WILLIAM has incurred juſt cenſure for involving this nation too deeply in continental politics—if the blood and treaſure of Great Britain were in his reign laviſhed with a too unſparing hand—at leaſt it muſt be acknowledged, that the ends he had in view were in the higheſt degree noble, juſt, and diſintereſted. The *Grand Alliance* was not projected by that renowned monarch, in order to procure the ceſſion of a diſtrict, to be added to his principality of Orange; but for the glorious purpoſe of aſſerting the liberty and independency of Chriſtendom, in oppoſition to the aſpiring aims of an haughty tyrant; and of fixing an inſurmountable barrier to the farther progreſs of his triumphs. Abſorbed in the contemplation of this great object, his ideas roſe infinitely above all thoſe miſerable artifices of petty aggrandizement, which had, for ſo many years previous to this period, perplexed the counſels, and interrupted the repoſe, of nations. When an addreſs was moved by Lord Hervey *, in the uſual

* This nobleman long occupied a place in the foremoſt rank of courtiers, and was a frequent ſpeaker in Parliament, though with little claim to hiſtoric notice. His endowments appear to have been very ſuperficial, and his manners effeminately frivolous; though,

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uſual ſtyle of courtly adulation and ſubmiſſion, the indignation of the Patriots ſeemed uncommonly excited; and the incoherency and abſurdity of the whole political ſyſtem of the Court were ably and vigorouſly expoſed. Sir Wilfred Lawſon, who firſt roſe, obſerved, "that the treaties, reſpecting which ſo much had been ſaid, were not yet before the Houſe; therefore he was not prepared to join in the approval of them. It appeared, however, ſufficiently plain, that, notwithſtanding the great things we had done for Spain, very little ſatisfaction had as yet been received for the injuries done to us. He knew of nothing, a vague order of his Catholic Majeſty to the governors of his ports in the Weſt Indies againſt illegal depredations excepted, upon which any conſtruction they thought proper might be put; but this ſurely could not be conſidered as a ſufficient reparation of paſt injuries." Mr. Shippen "confeſſed himſelf ſo unfaſhionable, that he neither pretended to judge without information,

though, by a duel with Mr. Pulteney, he ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his character for perſonal courage. Lord Hervey's quarrel with POPE is well known. The portrait drawn by that vindictive Satiriſt of this nobleman under the name of Sporus, is replete with malignity and diſtortion; though, had it been perfectly juſt, the poet ſtands deſervedly condemned by his own previous acknowledgment:

Satire or ſenſe, alas! can Sporus feel?
Who breaks a butterfly upon a wheel?

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or to applaud without reaſon. The ſervile and flattering addreſſes now in vogue, he ſaid, were unknown in former times;—in oppoſing them, he ſhewed his regard for the honor and dignity of that Houſe; and for his reputation as a courtier, he felt little concern. He moved, therefore, to leave out the complimentary paragraphs, and to reſtrain the addreſs to a general expreſſion of thanks to his Majeſty, and of ſatisfaction at the eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity. But the moſt intereſting and eloquent ſpeech on this occaſion was made by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, that if we were now right, he was certain that the time had long ago elapſed, when we might have been *as right*, with infinitely leſs expence and trouble. But at the period to which he alluded, the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction was repreſented as inconſiſtent with the intereſt and happineſs of the nation, by the very perſons who now plume themſelves, and demand the applauſe of the Houſe for aſſenting to it. For his part, he ſaid, he neither conſidered the Pragmatic Sanction in ſo formidable, or in ſo favorable a light, as the preſent Miniſters had, at different times, done. Admitting it to be agreeable to the general intereſts of England, that the Auſtrian ſucceſſion ſhould be tranſmitted whole and undivided, he greatly doubted the policy of our obliging ourſelves, by an explicit and poſitive guarantee, to maintain this ſucceſſion at a future

future and indeterminate period, when England might, for reaſons impoſſible to foreſee, find it very incompatible with her intereſt to engage in a foreign war upon any account: and no alternative would be then left us, but to violate our faith, or to riſque our ſafety. To violate the national faith, indeed, he obſerved, was no new thing with the preſent Miniſters; for the Treaty of Vienna itſelf was concluded in violation of the Treaty of Hanover, to the conditions of which, though Pruſſia had withdrawn herſelf, France and Holland had ſtrictly adhered. He could not, therefore, allow, that in the late tranſactions either the *intereſt* or the *honor* of the nation had been conſulted. With regard to the forcible introduction of Don Carlos into Italy, that Prince, whoſe name had, for ſeveral years paſt, been converted to ſuch commodious uſes, and who, according to a ludicrous obſervation in the courſe of this debate, was either a *giant* or an *infant* as it ſuited the purpoſe of the Court—Mr. Pulteney declared that he thought it very likely to prove the origin of freſh troubles. But if, upon the whole, our affairs abroad were now wiſely adjuſted, and our domeſtic grievances were to be, at the ſame time, completely redreſſed, the Miniſter at the helm of government might be compared to a pilot who, though there was a clear, ſafe, and ſtraight channel into harbor, took it into his head to navigate the ſhip through

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through rocks, ſands, and ſhallows, and after much danger and much damage, at laſt, by chance, hits the port, and triumphs in his good conduct." In reply to Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Horace Walpole, upon whom the Miniſter willingly devolved the taſk of defending his ſyſtem of foreign politics, undertook to demonſtrate "the wiſdom and rectitude of thoſe meaſures of adminiſtration, ſo contemptuouſly derided and ſo injuriouſly arraigned. He wiſhed, he ſaid, to be informed to what period of time the obſervations of the laſt ſpeaker were intended to refer. He knew that the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction had been propoſed to us ſome years ago; but then it was in a ſtyle ſo dogmatic, that it was inconſiſtent with the honor of his Majeſty and of the nation to pay the ſlighteſt attention to it. Beſides, there was juſt reaſon to fear that Don Carlos was the perſon fixed upon by his Imperial Majeſty as his ſucceſſor; and it was manifeſtly againſt the intereſts of Great Britain to contribute to the eſtabliſhment of a Prince in the entire poſſeſſion of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, who held in his own right dominions ſo conſiderable in Italy, and who was ſo nearly related to the Crowns both of Spain and France. This guarantee was again offered when the Treaty of Seville was in agitation; but it was again rejected, becauſe it was well known to be intended only to *diſturb the negotiation.* But as ſoon as the Treaty of

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of Seville was concluded, and the Emperor became reaſonable in his propoſals, we embraced the opportunity, and joined without reſerve in the guarantee. As to any inconvenience which might ariſe from a ſuppoſed eventual inability to maintain our engagements, he would take upon him to aſſert, that were the Imperial Houſe in danger of ſubverſion, we *muſt* engage in their reſcue, let our circumſtances be at the time what they will; for our own ruin was cloſely and inevitably connected with theirs. This guarantee he affirmed it would have been highly deſirable to have entered into ſooner, on account of the fatal conſequences which might have enſued in caſe of the demiſe of the Emperor. But it was impoſſible to agree to it, till his Imperial Majeſty had given ſatisfaction to Spain reſpecting the Italian Duchies, and to England and Holland in regard to the Oſtend Company, which his Majeſty, by the wiſdom, vigor, and *ſteadineſs* of his meaſures, had at laſt procured. He begged leave to repeat the expreſſion, the *ſteadineſs* of his Majeſty's meaſures; for, he ſaid, though the means were various, the objects of thoſe meaſures were uniform—the preſervation of the balance of power, and the aſſertion of our commercial rights. We had engaged by the Quadruple Alliance to ſee the Infant Don Carlos ſettled in the ſucceſſion of the Italian Duchies; and Spain *could not be eaſy* till this was effect-

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effectuated, nor could we or our allies, the Dutch, *be eaſy*, till we ſaw the Oſtend Company abſolutely demoliſhed. As ſoon as theſe two grand points were conceded by the Imperial Court, we began to think ſeriouſly of eſtabliſhing the future tranquillity of Europe, and the balance of power, on a ſolid foundation; for which purpoſe we had at length agreed to the formal guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. How then could it be affirmed that the honor and intereſt of the nation had not been conſulted in our foreign negotiations, or that our engagements had not been fulfilled? France had no reaſon to be diſſatisfied, having declared that her ſole object was the preſervation of the general tranquillity, agreeably to the terms of the Quadruple Alliance, which was accompliſhed by the Treaty of Vienna: and the fact was, that the Court of Verſailles had declared itſelf ſatisfied *. As to the commercial differences between England and Spain, they were referred to the deciſion of commiſſaries, who, there was every reaſon to believe, would ſettle all points in diſpute in an amicable manner." This ſpeech was no leſs favorably received by the majority of the Houſe, than the

* Upon the ſame principle, doubtleſs, on which SHYLOCK, after "recording a gift of all his wealth," declares, in anſwer to the queſtion, "Art thou contented, Jew?"—"I am content;" though a cataſtrophe not very pleaſing certainly in itſelf, and little to be expected from the tenor of the exiſting BOND.

harangue

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harangue formerly made by this Miniſter in vindication of the Treaty of Hanover; and the addreſs, as originally moved, was preſented to his Majeſty, who declared in reply, "that he had no doubt of the continuance of the affection and confidence of the Houſe, and that they ſhould ever find his views tending to the honor, intereſt, and ſecurity, of his Crown and People."

The nation being at length allowed, and aſſerted on the higheſt authority, to be in a ſtate of actual and perfect ſecurity, a grand effort was thought adviſable by the patriots in oppoſition, or the *Country-party*, as they were now generally ſtyled, to effect a reduction of the ſtanding army. This rooted and habitual grievance the Courtiers endeavored to diſguiſe and ſoften, by beſtowing upon it the appellation of a *parliamentary army*, as voted and maintained by parliamentary authority. They pleaded, that this force was neceſſary to ſecure the interior tranquillity of the kingdom, and to overawe malcontents, though too inconſiderable to excite the jealouſy of the people even under an ambitious Monarch, and much leſs under a Prince who could not be accuſed, or even ſuſpected, of entertaining the remoteſt wiſh of infringing upon the liberties of his ſubjects. In favor of the reduction it was argued, "that a ſtanding military force in time of peace had, previous to the æra of the Revolution, always been accounted not only ſuperfluous, but unconſtitutional and danger-

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dangerous; that the internal tranquillity of the country might be ſecured, as heretofore it had been, by the civil power aided by the militia, which, under proper regulation, was as capable of diſcipline, and as active in exertion, as a ſtanding army; that the number of malcontents was altogether contemptible; but that the moſt effectual means of increaſing it was the obſtinate perſeverance in meaſures odious and arbitrary; that though they had all imaginable confidence in his Majeſty's regard for the liberty of his ſubjects, ſhould a ſtanding army be ingrafted into the conſtitution, another Prince might ariſe of more dangerous talents and of deeper deſigns, and employ it for the worſt purpoſes of ambition: that other nations had been enſlaved by ſtanding armies; and though the officers were at preſent men of honor and probity, theſe might be eaſily diſcarded, and the army new-modelled, in order to effect the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution. The expence of this great military force was alſo inſiſted upon as extremely burdenſome and oppreſſive to the nation; and it was aſſerted, that the money raiſed for the ſubſiſtence of 18 or 20,000 men in England would maintain 60,000 French or Germans. Previous to the Revolution it was well known that the people of England did not raiſe above two millions for the whole of the public charge; but now the current expence far exceeded that ſum, and the civil liſt, the intereſt due to the public

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public creditors, and the ſinking fund, added together, compoſed a burden of ſix millions yearly; and though at ſo recent a period as the acceſſion of the late King, the army did not exceed 6000 men, it was now augmented, on various pretences, to more than three times that number. And farther pretences would never be wanting, were Parliament willing to liſten to them for farther augmentations." Theſe arguments, however, proved wholly fruitleſs and unavailing *, and in proportion to the frequency of their repetition, the impreſſion ſeems to have been impaired and weakened; for it is unhappily, though unqueſtionably, certain, that, for almoſt a century paſt, the *ſtanding army* has been *a progreſſive army*, and that every effort for its reduction has terminated in its increaſe and enlargement. Such was the offence given by Mr. Pulteney to the Court by the zealous part he took in this and other political queſtions at this period, that the King, calling for the council-boook, with his own hand ſtruck out his name from the liſt of Privy Counſellors, which, however, only ſerved to extend his fame, and eſtabliſh his popularity.

* The numbers on the diviſion were 241 againſt 171 voices. Lord Hervey urging the multiplicity of ſeditious writings, as an argument againſt any reduction of the military force; Mr. Plumer replied, "that if *ſcribblers* gave the Government uneaſineſs, they ought to employ *ſcribblers*, and not ſoldiers, to defend them from the danger."

Not-

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Notwithſtanding the indiſcriminate ſupport given by Sir Robert Walpole, after the example of his predeceſſors; to the long-eſtabliſhed royal ſyſtem of continental politics, and without which he well knew the impoſſibility of maintaining poſſeſſion, even for a day, of his high and precarious office, it ought not to be ſuppoſed that this Miniſter was abſolutely indifferent to the intereſt and welfare of the kingdom over whoſe councils he preſided. This it would be flagrant injuſtice to affirm. His ſituation was, in many reſpects, critical and hazardous; and if juſt allowance be made for the difficulties and embarraſſments which he perpetually experienced from the prevalence of Hanoverian prejudices on the one ſide, and Jacobite prejudices on the other, it will not perhaps be too much to aſſert, that a man, upon the whole, better adapted to the ſtation which he occupied, or better qualified to diſcharge the various and complicated duties of it, could no-where be found. To change the Miniſter would have availed nothing without a radical change of ſyſtem; and ſo long as the nation at large ſhall continue to approve, or acquieſce in, this corrupt and defective ſyſtem, where is the Miniſter to be found, who ſhall with ſincerity and earneſtneſs labor to accompliſh any comprehenſive plan of political reform? Or, indeed, what right have we to expect from any man ſuch an heroic and, at the ſame time, uſeleſs effort of virtue?

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virtue. The celebrated ſtateſman whoſe character and conduct we have now been contemplating—and whoſe actions have been brought to the teſt of that fiery ordeal of relentleſs truth and juſtice which human frailty is ſo incompetent to abide, and over whoſe burning plough-ſhares no man ever yet with impunity paſſed—was poſſeſſed, nevertheleſs, of talents admirably calculated for public life. An underſtanding clear, maſculine, and vigorous, was in him combined with a temper mild, equable, and diſpaſſionate. And by the moſt perfect accuracy and regularity of method, the toils of government were rendered apparently eaſy and pleaſant. He was fully ſenſible of the folly of that warlike ſpirit which had predominated in the Britiſh councils ſince the æra of the Revolution. The favorite object of his adminiſtration was to preſerve and maintain the general tranquillity; and the Treaty of Vienna, recently concluded at a moment ſo critical, ſtrongly indicated his extreme ſolicitude for the continuance of peace. He conceived the proſperity of the nation to be moſt effectually advanced by the encouragement of manufactures and commerce, the true principles of which he perfectly comprehended and ſteadily purſued. His return to office had been diſtinguiſhed by a moſt beneficial alteration of the commercial ſyſtem of Great Britain, in the abrogation of a multiplicity of duties payable on the importa-

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tion of raw materials, and the exportation of wrought goods. And it has been affirmed, that he found the Engliſh book of rates almoſt the worſt, and left it the very beſt, in Europe. At this period he had formed a project, to which he appears to have been incited by the cleareſt conviction of its utility, for effecting a radical alteration in the national ſyſtem of taxation. The principal branches of the revenue might at this time be divided into port-duties or cuſtoms—duties of exciſe—and taxes levied on immoveable property, ſuch as the duties on land, houſes, hearths, and windows. This latter deſcription of duties the Miniſter conſidered as of a nature highly oppreſſive, partial, and inequitable. And the various taxes on conſumable commodities, to which every citizen contributes in an exact proportion to his conſumption; and which, being included in the price of the commodity, are eaſily and inſenſibly paid; conſtituted, in his opinion, incomparably the moſt eligible mode of raiſing the ſupplies neceſſary for the public ſervice. He alſo well knew the groſs and ſhameleſs frauds daily practiſed in the collection of the cuſtoms; and which, from the very nature of thoſe frauds, and the extreme facility of committing them, he had no hope to remedy. He thought, therefore, that to convert the greater part of the cuſtoms into duties of exciſe, would be equally advantageous to Government, and to the

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the fair trader; and that the laws of exciſe might be ſo ameliorated, that, notwithſtanding the odium generally attached to them as oppreſſive and arbitrary, no juſt or real ground of complaint ſhould remain. With a view, therefore, to an eſſential change in the firſt ſpecies of taxation, and to the eventual annihilation of the laſt, he brought into the Houſe, in the month of February 1732, a bill for the revival of the ſalt duties, which had been repealed ſome years back, as a ſubſtitute for one ſhilling in the pound of the land-tax—and if this propoſal met the approbation of the Houſe, he ſignified his intention—the land-tax being at this time two ſhillings only in the pound—altogether to aboliſh that tax in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion; in which he declared he ſhould rejoice, as the annihilation of a moſt grievous and intolerable burden. "The duty on ſalt, he ſaid, affected, it was true, all claſſes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich; but the burden of this tax being ſo equally and generally diffuſed, the ſum contributed by the lower claſſes of the people would be found, on computation, ſo trifling, as ſcarcely to deſerve the mention. This tax, while it exiſted, was never the ſubject of complaint; and when it was repealed, no one ſeemed to think himſelf benefited. He knew, he ſaid, the reproaches he had to expect on this occaſion; but he had been long accuſtomed to be affronted and inſulted, both

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within the walls of that place, and without: and while he knew his intentions to be upright, and his only aim to ſerve his country to the beſt of his knowledge, and the utmoſt of his power, he ſhould continue to diſregard thoſe reflections which he was conſcious he did not deſerve." After very vehement and obſtinate debates, in which the Miniſter was repeatedly charged with deep and malignant deſigns againſt the liberties of his country, and the welfare and happineſs of his fellow-citizens, which no one perhaps ſeriouſly ſuſpected him to harbor, the bill paſſed by a majority of 207 voices againſt 135. And it muſt be acknowledged, that the oppoſition againſt the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration was ſo invariable, and at times ſo intemperate, that the bounds of patriotiſm and faction ſeem to have been divided by a very ſlender partition. In the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, the Penſion Bill was a third time paſſed by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords. And on the 1ſt of June 1732, the King terminated the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he informed the Parliament of the formal acceſſion of the States-General to the Treaty of Vienna; and declared his intention of viſiting his Electoral dominions, and of leaving the Queen, as before, ſole Regent during his abſence. On his arrival in Germany, he had the ſatisfaction at length to receive the inveſtitures of the Duchies of Bremen and Verden,

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den, ſo long ſolicited, and ſo long delayed by the policy, pride, or reſentment of the Emperor.

During this ſummer, Victor Amadeus, the abdicated monarch of Sardinia, was diſcovered to be deeply engaged, at the inſtigation of his wife, the Marchioneſs of St. Sebaſtian, in intrigues for the reſumption of the Crown—upon which, his perſon was ſeized by order of his ſon, the reigning King, and conveyed to Rivoli; and the Marchioneſs committed cloſe priſoner to the Caſtle of Seva. And the world had a new proof, little wanted indeed, how weak are the ties of gratitude and affection, when placed in competition with the ſuggeſtions of ambition and intereſt.

At this period, a royal charter was granted for the ſettlement of a new colony to the ſouthward of the Carolinas, to which the name of Georgia was given: and General Oglethorpe, a man diſtinguiſhed for the activity and ardor of his benevolence, was appointed Governor*, and embarked at Greenwich with a number of families, who founded a town called Savannah on the river of that name. This enterpriſe excited the jealouſy and apprehenſion of the Spaniards; and as it was difficult, or rather impoſſible, to aſcertain the preciſe limits of the Engliſh colony of Georgia and the Spaniſh ſettlement of Florida, a founda-

* "One—driven by ſtrong benevolence of ſoul—
Shall fly like OGLETHORPE, from pole to pole." POPE.

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tion of future diſpute and contention between the two nations was unavoidably laid. Previous to the final deciſion of Government reſpecting this meaſure, ſeven chiefs of the Cherokee and other ſouthern Indian tribes were conveyed to England; and being introduced to the King, ſurrendered, by a formal deed, in the name of their countrymen, all right of property and dominion in the lands now about to be occupied by the new coloniſts. And in amazement at the riches and magnificence of the Britiſh Court, they are ſaid to have laid their crowns and enſigns of dignity at the King's feet, requeſting to be received in the number of his ſubjects.

Parliament being convened as uſual, early in the year 1733, a motion was framed and approved for an addreſs to the King, to know what ſatisfaction had been made by Spain for the depredations committed on the Britiſh merchants—to which the King replied, "that the meetings of the commiſſaries of the two Crowns had been delayed by unforeſeen accidents, and that a perfect account of their proceedings could not as yet be laid before the Houſe of Commons." On the motion relative to the army eſtimates in the Committee of Supply, which differed not materially from thoſe of the laſt year, a violent debate aroſe; and the arguments formerly urged were again repeated and anew enforced. Mr. Horace Walpole, in reply, heſitated

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heſitated not to aſſert, "that the number of troops then propoſed was abſolutely neceſſary to ſupport his Majeſty's government, and would be neceſſary ſo long as the nation enjoyed the happineſs of having the preſent illuſtrious family on the throne." Mr. Shippen remarked upon this aſſertion, "that the queſtion ſeemed at length to have taken a new turn—for, in former debates, the continuance of the army *for one year only* had been contended for; but now the maſk was thrown off, and the Houſe was given to underſtand that it was intended to be PERPETUAL. This he would not believe could come from his Majeſty. His Majeſty KNEW how much the nation was loaded with debts and taxes—and how *inconſiſtent it was with our conſtitution to keep up a ſtanding army in time of peace.*" Mr. Shippen, being called vehemently to order for theſe laſt words, declared himſelf "peculiarly unfortunate; for that, in a former Parliament, he had incurred the ſevere diſpleaſure and cenſure of that Houſe, for aſſerting that the late Monarch *was unacquainted* with the conſtitution; and he now gave high offence, by declaring that his preſent Majeſty *was not unacquainted* with the conſtitution." On a diviſion, the motion was carried by 239 votes againſt 171.

In deliberating upon the ſupplies to be granted for the enſuing year, Sir Robert Walpole moved that the ſum of 500,000l. ſhould be iſſued out of

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the Sinking Fund for current ſervices. This was the firſt open and direct attack upon the Sinking Fund*; and it produced a moſt animated and indignant remonſtrance from the patriotic party, who warned the Miniſter, though in vain, that he was drawing down the curſes of poſterity upon his head—and expatiated upon the iniquity of pillaging, in a time of profound peace, this ſacred depoſit, and demonſtrated the folly of ſacrificing the ineſtimable advantages ariſing from the undiſturbed and progreſſive operation of this fund, to a little temporary eaſe; and conjured him not to demoliſh with his own hand the faireſt monument of his fame. Sir William Wyndham acknowledged, "that he had never been without apprehenſion that violence might be offered to this fund, by an enterpriſing Miniſter, in caſe of exigency and in a time of war: but to ſee attempts made upon it in a ſeaſon of perfect tranquillity, was what he never expected. Is the public expenditure, exclaimed this patriotic ſpeaker, never to be leſſened? Are the people of England always to groan under the ſame heavy and grievous taxes? Surely, if there is any intention of diminiſhing the preſent enormous debt of the nation, now is

* Between the years 1727 and 1732, various new loans were made, the intereſts of which were charged upon different ſurpluſſes, appertaining, conformably to the original plan of redemption, to the Sinking Fund.

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the time for doing it. What can be ſaid in vindication of thoſe who are thus loading poſterity? Can they imagine that there will ever be leſs occaſion for public expence—or can they imagine that our deſcendants will poſſeſs greater ability for diſcharging theſe incumbrances than ourſelves? Surely not—unleſs far other and wiſer meaſures of government ſhould be adopted, than any which have yet originated from the preſent Miniſters." No impreſſion, however, could be made upon the predetermined purpoſe of the Miniſter; and the meaſure received without difficulty the ſanction of the Houſe of Commons: and though in the Houſe of Lords it was again attacked, with the united powers of argument, wit, and eloquence, by the Lords Bathurſt, Cheſterfield, and Carteret, it finally received the royal aſſent.

The compliant diſpoſition of Parliament now encouraged the Miniſter to bring forward, in purſuance of the grand plan of revenue reform before mentioned, his famous bill for ſubjecting the duties on wine and tobacco to the laws of exciſe. But, probably to the ſurpriſe, certainly to the chagrin, of the Miniſter, on moving his primary reſolution, "that the duties on tobacco do from the 24th of June 1733 ceaſe and determine," no leſs than 205 members divided againſt it—the majority, in a houſe of 471 members, being only 61.

No

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No man, perhaps, at this time, ſtood higher in public or parliamentary eſtimation than Sir Paul Methuen. His long experience, his extenſive political and commercial knowledge, the high offices he had ſucceſſively occupied, the reſpectability of his private with the moderation and equanimity of his public character, and the dignified candor with which he always oppoſed, when he deemed it neceſſary to oppoſe, the meaſures of Adminiſtration, though long removed from power by the ſuperior aſcendancy of WALPOLE, all combined to give the decided part which he took on this occaſion, as an opponent of the bill, the greateſt weight; and his opinion was ſuppoſed materially to have influenced very many of the moſt reſpectable members who voted in this formidable minority.

A prodigious clamor, inſtigated, without doubt, in a great degree by thoſe perſons whoſe fraudulent practices this plan was intended to counteract, was artfully and induſtriouſly raiſed againſt the bill, which was indeed deemed dangerouſly inimical to the conſtitution, by many very intelligent and impartial perſons, to whoſe judgment much deference is due; though it has in our own times been carried ſubſtantially into effect without cauſing any public alarm, or even exciting any very uncommon ſhare of attention—juſtifying in its operation the ideas and expectations of the Miniſters with whom it originated. On this occaſion, however, the oppoſition

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ſition againſt the bill might with propriety be ſtyled national; and Sir Robert Walpole perſiſting to urge this favorite project with a very improper, and with him a very unuſual degree of heat and paſſion—applying the contumelious expreſſion of "ſturdy beggars" to the merchants who attended in the lobby of the Houſe of Commons with petitions againſt the bill, the public diſcontent was heightened into rage. The avenues to Weſtminſter Hall were occupied by immenſe crowds of people; and the perſons of thoſe members who voted in favor of the bill were groſsly inſulted, and even their lives endangered. At length Sir Robert Walpole thought proper to move that the ſecond reading of the bill might be poſtponed to a diſtant day. The defeat of the ſcheme was celebrated with general rejoicings; and the Miniſter was burned in effigy, and loaded with execrations, though his conduct appears no otherwiſe cenſurable in this buſineſs, than as it exhibits ſome ſymptoms of pride and obſtinacy. It is related, nevertheleſs, to his praiſe, that, on the evening previous to the report, a meeting was convened by the Miniſter, of the members who had ſupported this obnoxious meaſure. Their unanimous opinion was, to perſevere: but Sir Robert Walpole declared, "that in the preſent inflamed temper of the people, the Act could not be carried into execution without an armed force, and he would not be the Miniſter

to

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to enforce any ſyſtem of taxation at the expence of blood; for, if ſupplies were to be raiſed by the ſword, there is an end of Britiſh liberty. He was therefore reſolved to adjourn the report for ſix months; or, ſhould his opinion be over-ruled, to make an immediate reſignation of his office." The unfortunate Penſion Bill, paſſed for the fourth time, in four ſucceſſive years, by the Houſe of Commons, was for the fourth time thrown out by the Houſe of Peers; although, as a meaſure which ſolely regarded the purity and integrity of the national repreſentation, theſe repeated rejections appeared particularly harſh and invidious on the part of the Lords. On the 11th of June 1733, the King cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which ſevere notice was taken of "the wicked endeavors that had been lately uſed to inflame the minds of the people, by the moſt unjuſt repreſentations."

EUROPE was now deſtined to be involved in freſh troubles. Theſe were occaſioned by the death of Auguſtus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, January 1733. The candidates for the vacant Crown were, Auguſtus ſon to the late King, and Staniſlaus, whom Charles XII. in the zenith of his proſperity had elevated to the throne, and which on the decline of that monarch's fortune he had been compelled to relinquiſh. Louis XV. King of France, having married the daughter of Staniſlaus, ſupported the pretenſions of this Prince

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with all his power; and the Poliſh Primate, and a majority of the Diet, being gained over by the intrigues of the French Ambaſſador, proceeded to the election, and Staniſlaus was unanimouſly choſen King at Warſaw, and proclaimed with loud acclamations. The Imperial Courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, however, between whom it is remarkable that a ſtrict and almoſt uninterrupted harmony has ſubſiſted, from the period that Ruſſia aſſumed her proper rank as a European power, eſpouſed with warmth the intereſts of the Houſe of Saxony: and proteſting by their reſpective miniſters againſt the election of Staniſlaus as null and void, an army of Auſtrians was aſſembled on the frontiers of Sileſia; and 50,000 Ruſſians under General Laſci actually entered Poland, on the ſide of Lithuania. Being quickly joined by a body of Saxons and Poles of the Electoral party, the Elector of Saxony was proclaimed King of Poland by the Biſhop of Cracow. King Staniſlaus, finding himſelf wholly unable to reſiſt ſo great a force, abandoned Warſaw to his rival, and retired to Dantzic, where he was purſued and cloſely beſieged by the Ruſſians and Saxons. This Prince, however, found means to eſcape, previous to the ſurrender of the city, which was followed by a general ſubmiſſion to the authority of Auguſtus, and a general amneſty was in return granted to the partiſans of Staniſlaus. Though the Court of Verſailles

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failles failed in their grand object in Poland, in order to be fully avenged upon the Emperor, who had been the principal obſtacle to its accompliſhment, and whoſe dominions lay much more open to attack than Ruſſia, the Duke of Berwick received orders to paſs the Rhine at the head of a numerous army in October, and Fort Kehl was in a ſhort time compelled to capitulate. The winter months having paſſed over, he renewed his operations with great vigor. After the reduction of Traerbach, the Duke inveſted the important town of Philipſburg; and viſiting the trenches was killed on the 12th June* by a cannon-ball, leaving behind him an high reputation for valor and military ſkill. The French General had been oppoſed, during the whole of this campaign, by the celebrated Prince Eugene, now far advanced into the vale of years, in a ſtate of languiſhment and infirmity, and retaining little reſemblance of the hero of Bleinheim and Belgrade. Notwithſtanding the loſs ſuſtained by the French in the death of their commander, Philipſburg was obliged, after a brave defence, to ſurrender, though upon the moſt honorable terms. During theſe tranſactions the French King had concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, in conformity to which, thoſe powers declared war againſt the Emperor. And the Marechal Duc de Villars, the antient rival of Marlborough and Eugene, was prevailed upon to

* 1734.

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take the command of the French army in Italy *; which, being joined by the forces of Savoy, expelled the Imperialiſts from the Milaneſe. He ſurvived, however, but a ſhort time the fatigues of the campaign, in which he fully ſuſtained the glory of his name and nation, dying at Turin early in the enſuing ſpring, at the age of eighty. After the death of this great man, the command devolved upon the Marechal de Coigné; between whom and the Imperial Generals, the Count de Merci and Marechal Konigſeg, various fierce and bloody, but indeciſive encounters took place, into the particular narration of which it is not neceſſary to enter. Whilſt the Auſtrians were thus driven from the Milaneſe, and with difficulty maintained their ground in the Mantuan, the Neapolitan nobility, irritated and oppreſſed under the government of the Count de Viſconti, the Imperial Viceroy, joined in an invitation to Don Carlos, the Infant Duke of Parma, to attempt an invaſion of that kingdom. He accordingly entered the Neapolitan

* M. Voltaire tells us, that the Marechal de Villars, on being ſolicited to reſume his military honors, and to place himſelf at the head of the army deſtined for Italy, repeated with energy and enthuſiaſm the following lines, from Racine's tragedy of Bajazet:

Quoi! tu crois, cher Oſmin, que ma gloire paſſée
Flatte encore leur valeur & vit dans leur penſée!
Tu crois qu'ils me ſuivroient encore avec plaiſir,
Et qu'ils reconnoîtroient la voix de leur Viſir?

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territories at the head of a conſiderable army, and was received in the metropolis with loud acclamations, as the national deliverer. The Count de Viſconti, having retreated into Apulia, was followed thither by the Spaniſh General, the Count de Montemar; who, attacking the Auſtrians at Bitonto, May 25, 1734, gained a moſt complete victory. Don Carlos, being now proclaimed and acknowledged King of Naples, immediately determined upon the reduction of Sicily: and the Count de Montemar, landing in that iſland in the month of Auguſt, proceeded with great rapidity in his conqueſts, the natives diſplaying every-where a diſpoſition rather to aſſiſt than to oppoſe the progreſs of his arms; and on the arrival of Don Carlos in perſon, the Imperialiſts were compelled finally to evacuate the iſland. The Emperor, finding himſelf unable to cope with his adverſaries, applied for ſuccor in this emergency to his powerful ally, the Czarina, who immediately ordered a body of thirty thouſand men to march to his aſſiſtance. But, before they could arrive at the ſcene of action, a general treaty of peace was concluded in the ſpring of 1735, nearly on the terms propoſed by the maritime powers; and agreeably to which, Naples and Sicily were yielded to the Infant Don Carlos; and Parma and Placentia, the patrimonial poſſeſſions of the Infant, were ceded to the Houſe of Auſtria, to whom alſo the other conqueſts

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conqueſts of the allies in Italy and Germany were reſtored. The reverſion of the Grand Duchy of Tuſcany, now formally relinquiſhed by Spain, was conferred as a fief of the Empire, at the demiſe of the Grand Duke, laſt of the illuſtrious Houſe of Medicis, upon the Duke of Lorraine, who was deſtined for the future huſband of the eldeſt Archduchess Maria Thereſa, a princeſs diſtinguiſhed for her perſonal and mental accompliſhments, and ſole heireſs, under the *Pragmatic Sanction*, of the vaſt dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria. The Elector of Saxony was acknowledged as King of Poland, and the Duchy of Lorraine was ceded to Staniſlaus, who was permitted to retain the title of King; and after the death of the titular monarch, to be for ever united to the Crown of France, which thus made, under the unambitious and pacific adminiſtration of Cardinal Fleury, an acquiſition of far greater importance and value than any which had reſulted from the moſt ſplendid ſucceſſes of Richelieu, Mazarine, or Louvois. The King of Sardinia was gratified by the ceſſion of ſome ſmall diſtricts of the Milaneſe; which is ſaid to have been compared, by one of the anceſtors of this monarch, to an artichoke, which, from its magnitude not being digeſtible at once, muſt be devoured leaf by leaf.

On reverting to the regular progreſſion of domeſtic events, we find the ſeſſion of 1734 diſtinguiſhed by a very vigorous effort to repeal the

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Act for Septennial Parliaments—as a flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the people—as having a dangerous tendency to increaſe the influence of the Crown, and as being actually productive of very pernicious effects. The Miniſter having defied the Oppoſition to adduce a ſingle inſtance in which the intereſts of the nation had been injured by the operation of this Bill, or by any undue exerciſe of the royal prerogative as connected with it, Sir William Wyndham obſerved, "that it was reaſonable and juſt to argue againſt the continuance of a Bill of this nature; not merely from what had happened, but from what might happen. Let us ſuppoſe then (ſaid he) a man of mean fortune and obſcure origin, abandoned to all notions of virtue and honor, and purſuing no object but his own aggrandizement, raiſed by the caprice of fortune to the ſtation of firſt Miniſter: Let us ſuppoſe him palpably deficient in the knowledge of the intereſts of his country; and employing, in all tranſactions with foreign powers, men ſtill more ignorant than himſelf: Let us ſuppoſe the honor of the nation tarniſhed, her political conſequence loſt, her commerce inſulted, her merchants plundered, her ſeamen periſhing in the depths of dungeons—and all theſe circumſtances palliated or overlooked, leſt his adminiſtration ſhould be endangered: Suppoſe him poſſeſſed of immenſe wealth, the ſpoils of an impove-

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impoverished nation; and suppose this wealth employed to purchase seats in the national senate for his confidential friends and favorites.—In such a Parliament, suppose all attempts to inquire into his conduct constantly over-ruled by a corrupt majority, who are rewarded for their treachery to the public by a profuse distribution of pensions, posts, and places under the Minister.—Let us suppose this Minister insolently domineering over all men of sense, figure, and fortune, in the nation; and having no virtuous principle of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavoring to destroy or contaminate it in all. With such a Minister, and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the throne—uninformed, and unacquainted either with the interests or inclinations of his people—weak, capricious, and actuated at once by the passions of ambition and avarice. Should such a case ever occur, could any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a Prince, advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament. The existence of such a Prince, and such a Minister, no human laws may indeed be adequate to prevent; but the existence of such a Parliament may, and ought to be prevented; and the repeal of the law in question I conceive to be a most obvious, necessary and indispensable means for the accomplishment of that purpose." Notwithstanding the admiration excited by this

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ſudden burſt of eloquence, and the ability with which the motion of repeal was ſupported by various other ſpeakers, it was negatived on the diviſion, though not by the accuſtomed miniſterial majority, the numbers being 247 againſt 184.

The Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham being about this time arbitrarily diveſted of their military commiſſions, on account of their parliamentary oppoſition to the meaſures of the Court, a very dangerous—the more dangerous indeed, becauſe a very plauſible—motion was made by Lord Morpeth, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Carliſle, for leave to bring in a Bill for ſecuring the conſtitution, by preventing the removal of officers not above the rank of Colonels, otherwiſe than by judgment of a Court Martial, or by an addreſs of either Houſe of Parliament. The Court, alarmed in the higheſt degree by this motion, exerted the whole force of miniſterial ability and eloquence in the Houſe of Commons, in order to defeat it. It was ſtrongly urged, "that the great danger to be guarded againſt in all armies, is the raiſing them to a ſtate of independency. The moſt important of all reſtraints on the military in this country, is the prerogative veſted in the Crown, of diſplacing officers on ſuſpicion, or even at pleaſure. But ſhould this power once be tranſferred to the army, a time may come, nor may the period be far diſtant, when the whole of our conſtitution ſhall be

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at its mercy, At preſent the army itſelf depends upon the King and Parliament for its very duration and exiſtence. But give the officers a permanent intereſt in their commiſſions, by the adoption of a meaſure which would convert them as it were into freeholds, and the King and Parliament would ſoon find themſelves dependent upon the army. By this Bill a door would be opened for the uncontrolled and uncontrollable commiſſion of every ſpecies of military licenſe and oppreſſion. And ſhould a reduction of the army at any future period be determined upon, is it to be imagined that theſe military chieftains, with ſwords in their hands, would contentedly lay them down, and retire to their reſpective homes, at the requiſition of the civil power? No: They would exclaim, Where are our accuſers? We are by law amenable to our own Courts Martial only, and to them alone will we ſubmit. The Miniſter remarked, that the two noblemen lately removed were ſucceeded by others—the Duke of Argyle and Lord Pembroke—in no reſpect inferior. And ſhould the motion paſs into a law, the Government of England would have an irreſiſtible tendency to a *Stratocracy*, or a military conſtitution. Suppoſing, ſaid this ſagacious ſtateſman, the charges ſo often urged by the zealous partiſans of this motion againſt a late celebrated General, to be well-founded—that he cheriſhed views of ambition, contrary to the ſpirit of the Conſtitution—that he

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aſpired to perpetuate his authority, and to riſe above all control, by obtaining a commiſſion conſtituting him General for life, how would the exiſtence of a law, ſuch as is now recommended, have facilitated the ſucceſs of thoſe daring projects? And how would ſuch a motion have been received by the gentlemen who now urge it as equitable and wiſe, had it been brought forward under the auſpices of the Duke of Marlborough? And what ſhould induce us to believe that meaſure to be now beneficial, which would then have been univerſally reprobated as pernicious and unconſtitutional?" The queſtion, being put, was carried in the negative, without a diviſion. A far more reaſonable and moderate motion was then made by Mr. Sandys, "for preſenting an humble addreſs to his Majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to inform the Houſe by whoſe advice it was that his Majeſty was pleaſed to diſcharge his Grace Charles Duke of Bolton, and the Right Honorable Lord Viſcount Cobham, from the regiments lately under their command, and what offences were alleged againſt them as the occaſion of their diſmiſſion." All the arguments being now on the other ſide, the Miniſter contented himſelf with calling for the queſtion; and on a diviſion the motion was negatived, by a majority of 252 againſt 193.

The very ſame day on which Lord Morpeth made his famous motion in the Houſe of Commons,

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mons, the Duke of Marlborough preſented a Bill of ſimilar import to the Houſe of Lords. The debate which enſued was rendered memorable by the eloquent ſpeeches of the Lords Cheſterfield and Scarborough—the former in ſupport, the latter in oppoſition to the Bill. Theſe two noblemen, who ranked amongſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed ornaments of the Engliſh Court, had long maintained a mutual and inviolable friendſhip. To the accompliſhments of the courtier, Lord Scarborough joined the ardor of patriotiſm and the enthuſiaſm of virtue. He might with propriety be regarded as the FALKLAND of the age—and the great qualities he poſſeſſed, were unfortunately clouded by the ſame dark tinge of melancholy. Such was his high ſenſe of honor, that thinking it neceſſary to take a decided part in oppoſition to the Bill in queſtion, he previouſly reſigned his place of Maſter of the Horſe, leſt, by an injurious imputation, he ſhould be ſuppoſed actuated by any intereſted motive. Not ſatisfied with the negative put upon the motion for the ſecond reading of the Bill, he urged the rejection of it by the Houſe, which was agreed to without a diviſion*.

In

* "When I confeſs there is who feels for fame,
And melts to goodneſs, need I SCARBOROUGH name?"
POPE.

The character of this nobleman has been delineated by Lord Cheſterfield, with the glowing pencil of ſenſibility and affection.

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In the ſame ſeſſion a very important Bill, which had at various times been propoſed and rejected, was revived by Mr. Sandys, entitled, "A Bill for ſecuring the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of officers, civil and military, in the Houſe of Commons." In oppoſition to this Bill, the Miniſter contended, "that the conſtitution was already ſufficiently ſecured, by the proviſion which orders a re-election when a member accepts

According to this *finiſhed portrait*—confirmed indeed by the general voice of his cotemporaries—Lord Scarborough poſſeſſed in the higheſt degree the air, manners, and addreſs of a man of quality—politeneſs with eaſe, and dignity without pride. He had the advantage of a fine perſon; and when cheerful, the moſt engaging countenance imaginable. His knowledge, claſſical and hiſtorical, was very extenſive; and it was accompanied with a juſt and delicate taſte. In his common expenſes he was liberal; but in his charities and bounties his generoſity was unlimited. In Parliament, though not an ambitious or florid ſpeaker, truth and virtue, which never want and ſeldom wear ornaments, ſeemed only to borrow his voice. He was a true conſtitutional, and yet practicable patriot: a ſincere lover and a zealous aſſertor of the natural, the civil, and the religious rights of his country. Though bred in camps and courts, his moral character was ſo unſullied, that what a celebrated hiſtorian formerly ſaid of SCIPIO, might, almoſt without any allowance for the imperfections of humanity, be applied to him: "Nil non laudandum aut dixit, aut fecit, aut ſenſit."—"This ſmall tribute of praiſe, ſays the noble writer, I owe to the memory of the beſt man I ever knew, and the deareſt friend I ever had. If he had any enemies—for I proteſt I never knew one—they could only be ſuch as were weary of always hearing of Ariſtides the Juſt."

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of a place; that to disable any gentleman or citizen from sitting in Parliament merely because he has the honor to serve the Crown, was really taking from the people their inherent right of choosing such representatives as they deemed best qualified to exercise the functions of their delegation; and that the State would be divided by it into factions, those acting under the executive power not coalescing with, but constituting a formidable phalanx against those who composed the legislative; and that it argued an hostile distrust of the Crown not compatible with the genius of the Constitution." The motion was, however, in itself plausible and popular, and it received additional weight from the near approach of a dissolution of Parliament, so that on the question of commitment it was negatived by a majority of 39 voices only in a House of 426 members.

Although a very large addition to the naval force of the nation had, in the early part of the session, been unanimously voted, on the 28th of March, a prorogation being now almost daily expected, a message was delivered by Sir Robert Walpole from the Crown, acknowledging the zeal and affection shewn by the Parliament, and desiring that his Majesty might be enabled, during the recess or interval of Parliaments, to make good such engagements with foreign powers as honor, justice, and prudence may call upon him to fulfil or contract, and

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and ſuch augmentation of his forces by ſea and land as might be neceſſary for the honor and defence of his kingdoms, and as the exigency of affairs may require, the war on the Continent ſtill unhappily continuing." On this occaſion all the patriotic ardor was again awakened, and the impolicy, the folly, and the danger of entruſting ſuch dictatorial powers in the hands of the Monarch, were expoſed with all the energy of truth and eloquence. Mr. Shippen in particular diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſpeech worthy of the Engliſh CATO. He ſaid, "that when the addreſs was moved in reply to his Majeſty's ſpeech at the commencement of the ſeſſion, he had expreſſed his fears and ſuſpicions, from certain expreſſions in both, that a vote of credit was in contemplation; but he had then been aſſured that there was not the leaſt ground even to imagine ſo improbable a thing, although we were now told that, from his Majeſty's manner of expreſſing himſelf upon that occaſion, every gentleman in the Houſe muſt have expected a demand of this nature—a demand for no leſs than a total ſurrender of all the rights of Parliament; for we are now called upon to give the King a power of raiſing what money he pleaſes, and alſo what military force he pleaſes, which are the rights on which all other rights depend; and all this without any neceſſity, or even any plauſible reaſon alleged to us. Is invaſion by a foreign enemy

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enemy to be apprehended? Is any dangerous domeſtic conſpiracy diſcovered? No: The Right Honorable Gentleman himſelf ſays that he believes the nation to be in ſafety, but does not deſire that its ſafety ſhould depend on his belief. GOD forbid that it ſhould; and happy would it be for us that it did not depend upon his adminiſtration. But this unlimited delegation of power is, it ſeems, deſigned to guard againſt new counſels, againſt any *ſudden alteration* of meaſures. Surely, Sir, this is not meant to be ſeriouſly urged; for can this plea ever be wanting? Are we not in as great danger of ſudden and alarming changes in a time of profound peace, as when the powers of Europe are engaged in a bloody war, and courting with eagerneſs our aſſiſtance, or at leaſt our neutrality? If we now, therefore, agree to grant ſuch powers, we may expect in future the demand regularly repeated, and never refuſed. Never can ſuch requiſitions on the part of the Crown be made with leſs color of neceſſity, never can compliance on our part be yielded more unconſtitutionally. When not only an expiring ſeſſion, but an expiring Parliament, grants ſuch powers, how eaſily may they be extended, before the next Parliament is ſuffered to meet, beyond all poſſibility of control! The precedents that have been adduced to juſtify the preſent demand are wholly inapplicable. In the year 1702 a vote of credit paſſed the Houſe in conſequence

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of a meſſage from the late Queen; but this meſſage contained no ſuch demand or requiſition as the preſent. It ſimply ſtated the danger to which our allies, the States-General, were at that period expoſed from France; and this danger was not only aſſerted, but proved by papers laid before the Houſe: we were then ourſelves actually engaged in a war, and it was not merely pretended that we might be eventually endangered by a change of counſels. Even in this ſituation the Queen was far from aſking ſuch powers as were now demanded. She did not in fact aſk any thing, ſaying only in general terms, that ſhe doubted not but the Houſe would adopt ſuch meaſures as would moſt conduce to the honor of her Crown, the ſafety of her kingdoms, and the ſupport of her allies. On the other hand, the Houſe were far from granting ſuch powers as are now aſked. The vote was reſtrained to a power of increaſing the forces deſtined to act with thoſe of the States-General, and limited by the condition that England ſhould not be charged with the pay of ſuch additional troops, but from the day that all commerce and correſpondence between the ſubjects of the States, and thoſe of France and Spain, ſhould be totally prohibited. As to the meſſage in the year 1715, it was ſent to the Houſe at a time of actual rebellion and expected invaſion; and it was not granted at the termination of a ſeſſion, and much leſs at the expiration

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ation of a Parliament. The meſſage in 1719 was ſimilarly circumſtanced: the nation was in danger of being invaded, and would have been invaded, had it not been for the diſaſters which the Spaniſh fleet met with after leaving their ports. The laſt precedent of the year 1725, it muſt be allowed, approaches neareſt to the preſent caſe. We then did, as we are now deſired to do—grant away millions in the dark without any cauſe or reaſon aſſigned; but then this was a precedent of the Right Honorable Gentleman's own making, which may be thought perhaps ſomewhat to diminiſh its authority. The Right Honorable Gentleman has, however, improved upon his own precedent; for the nation was not, at the period alluded to, in a ſtate of abſolute tranquillity, nor did the meſſage aſk for a diſcretion ſo unlimited as the preſent; but merely for an indefinite power to add to the *naval* force, and to negotiate treaties. But if his Majeſty is inveſted with the powers now demanded, nothing will remain for the Crown to aſk but a Parliamentary reſolve, impowering his Majeſty to make, repeal, ſuſpend, or alter, ſuch laws, and in ſuch manner, as he ſhall judge neceſſary for the public ſafety. And where indeed is the difference between granting this power at once, and putting the Crown in a capacity to aſſume it whenever it may chooſe ſo to do? Such complaiſance as this muſt ſurely render us moſt deſpicable in his Majeſty's eyes:

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He might juſtly ſay of us as the Roman Emperor of the Roman Senate, "*O homines ſervire paratos!*" But we are told that an account is to be rendered to the next Parliament of whatever may be done in purſuance of theſe powers. Sir, I have been ſo often deceived by miniſterial promiſes, that I am aſhamed ever to have placed any degree of faith in them. How often, when I and others have called for ſuch accounts, have we been told that matters were not ripe for laying them before Parliament, or that it would be dangerous to the State to reveal the ſecrets of government? and the higheſt ſatisfaction we could ever obtain was to be told that the expenſes incurred were neceſſarily incurred for foreign and ſecret ſervices. Whence that neceſſity aroſe was ever kept from the knowledge of Parliament: we had the word of the Miniſter to reſt our faith upon; and the ſame implicit reſignation will be required, doubtleſs, from every ſucceeding Parliament. When at the termination of the ſeſſion we return to our ſeveral counties, and are requeſted to aſſign our reaſons for this very extraordinary vote—a vote by which ſuch vaſt additional burdens may be impoſed on the nation—how ſatisfactory muſt it be to our conſtituents to be informed that, though we are at preſent in amity or actual alliance with all the powers of Europe, military preparations, by ſea and land, muſt be made in order to guard againſt a *variation* of foreign counſels! Sir, in my opinion,

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nion, the reſolution now moved is neither neceſſary, nor ſafe, nor founded upon precedent. Precedents, indeed, there may be, which reſemble it in a certain degree; but were they ever ſo numerous, and in all reſpects analogous, it would be no argument with me for agreeing to what is propoſed. Whatever may have been the duration or extent of the practice, it is now high time to put a ſtop to it, and to eſtabliſh a PRECEDENT of REFUSAL; otherwiſe Parliaments will become wholly uſeleſs, or ſerve, by a ſanction ſo pernicious, to make Miniſters the more daring, and the oppreſſions of the people the more grievous."

In anſwer to this eloquent and patriotic ſpeaker, Mr. Horace Walpole ventured to attempt a vindication of the meaſure thus indignantly arraigned. He ſaid, that after all the pains taken to point out a diſſimilarity between the caſe now under diſcuſſion and the precedents adduced in ſupport of it, he could diſcern no material difference. It had been evidently the practice of Parliament, in times of danger, to grant extraordinary powers to the Crown, and in this particular way. For his part he acknowledged he thought the precedent of 1702 a bad one; becauſe the Parliament diſcovered ſo much diffidence and diſtruſt; and the ill effects of their ſlow and lukewarm proceedings ought to induce us to ſtrengthen the hands of his Majeſty at the preſent juncture. It was ſurpriſing, he ſaid, to

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him to hear it aſſerted by Gentlemen, that nothing had been laid before the Houſe to ſhew the neceſſity of granting the powers now aſked for. Did not his Majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, inform us of the war then begun in Europe? Does he not by the preſent meſſage acquaint us that the war ſtill continues? And is not every gentleman convinced, by what he knows of the ſituation of Europe, that the balance of power in Europe entirely depends on the event of that war? Suppoſing either ſide to prevail too far, the balance of power muſt be overturned; and this nation will be under an obligation to interpoſe, in order to prevent ſo fatal an effect. Beſides, does not every gentleman know that the French have lately fitted out a very powerful naval armament, which, with more probability, threatened Great Britain than any other place in the world, unleſs we excepted the city of Dantzic? He believed, indeed, he ſaid, that it was deſigned againſt Dantzic; but if that affair ſhould blow over, can we imagine ourſelves in ſecurity, while ſo large a ſquadron lies within a few hours' ſail of the Engliſh coaſt? Our allies, the Dutch, he ſaid, were in a very critical ſtate: their barrier in Flanders was in a very weak and defenceleſs condition, and if we ſhould ſit ſtill and do nothing, they might be tempted to throw themſelves entirely into the arms of France. They had not indeed, he acknowledged, done any thing as yet

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yet themſelves by way of augmentation of their forces, but then they had poſtponed that reduction of 10,000 men, which, previous to the war, they had meditated; and they were now deſirous to go hand in hand with us. Gentlemen, he ſaid, might, if they pleaſed, call this a vote of credit; but his Majeſty having expreſsly promiſed an account of the expenditure, it was in his opinion only a vote of confidence, which, by ſhewing the entire reliance we place on the wiſdom of his Majeſty's meaſures, will give his inſtances with foreign powers that weight which is ſo neceſſary to the preſervation of the balance of power in Europe, without which this nation can never be in any ſafety or ſecurity." The debate was unuſually prolonged by a ſucceſſion of very able ſpeeches: and Sir John Bernard particularly attracted the attention of the Houſe, by declaring "that the aſſertions hazarded in royal ſpeeches or meſſages were not to be implicitly depended upon; for that the Crown might aſſert, and in fact had aſſerted, in conſequence of haſty or treacherous information, what afterwards proved not to be true. Parliament had, he ſaid, been aſſured by a ſolemn ſpeech from the throne, that an alliance had been entered into between the Emperor and Spain, in conformity to the ſecret articles of which, Gibraltar was to have been wreſted from us, and the Pretender placed by force on the throne of Great Britain. Conſidering the ſituation and circumſtances of the contracting powers at

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that period, this intelligence appeared to many at the time romantic and incredible; and it was now known to be falſe, though it was then repreſented as highly diſreſpectful to the Crown ſo much as to doubt it. We were now called upon, in a manner ſtill more extraordinary, to give credit to a ſurmiſe of danger from France, which the Right Honorable Gentleman himſelf does not profeſs to believe; and in conſequence of this groundleſs apprehenſion, to devolve for ſix months the whole power of Parliament upon the Crown—a demand which deſerved to be treated with ridicule, and rejected with indignation." Sir Robert Walpole immediately roſe, and proteſted, "that while he had the honor to ſerve the Crown, he could not ſit ſtill and hear it ſo injuriouſly reflected upon. His late Majeſty's aſſertion, relative to the ſecret articles of the Treaty of Vienna, he ſaid, was as true and as well founded as any that ever came from the throne. It was indeed inſolently contradicted by M. Palm, the Imperial Ambaſſador; but the King received his information from thoſe who could not be deceived—and the Miniſter declared himſelf to be as certain that there were ſuch articles, as if he had been preſent at the framing of them*: and however indiſcreet this declara-

* Lord Townſhend, Secretary of State at the period alluded to, made a ſimilar declaration in the Houſe of Peers; without, however, being able to remove the obſtinate incredulity of a great part of his noble auditors.

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tion might be thought in actual circumſtances—he could not, in juſtice to the memory of the late King, ſay leſs." In concluſion, the queſtion being put, upon the motion for the addreſs, it was carried in the affirmative, by 248 voices againſt 147—although Mr. Pulteney, who terminated the debate, had given it as his opinion, that "the meſſage before the Houſe was of a nature ſo extraordinary, and involved in it ſuch culpability, that if the ſpirit of liberty—that ſpirit which brought about the Revolution, and eſtabliſhed the preſent family upon the throne—was not abſolutely extinguiſhed in the nation, we might expect to ſee a future Parliament not only cenſure, but condemn and puniſh, thoſe who have been the chief adviſers of ſuch a meaſure." On the 16th of April the King put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech, in which he declared, that "he ſhould think himſelf inexcuſable if he parted with this Parliament, without doing them the juſtice to acknowledge the many ſignal proofs they had given, through the courſe of ſeven years, of their duty, fidelity, and attachment to his perſon and government, and their conſtant regard to the true intereſt of their country." The Parliament having now ſat nearly the full term preſcribed by the Septennial Act, was diſſolved on April 18, 1734, and a new Parliament immediately convoked by royal proclamation.

In the ſpring of this year the marriage of the Princeſs Royal with the Prince of Orange was

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celebrated with great magnificence and public rejoicings; and the Parliament, as a teſtimony of their entire approbation of this alliance, voted the ſum of 80,000l. as a portion to the Princeſs, and an annuity for life of 5000l. payable out of the Civil Liſt. His Serene Highneſs the Prince is thus favorably deſcribed, in a letter to Lord Townſhend, Secretary of State, from the Earl of Cheſterfield, Ambaſſador at the Hague: "The Prince of Orange has extreme good parts; is perfectly well-bred; with an eaſe and freedom that is ſeldom acquired, but by a long knowledge of the world. The acclamations of the people are loud and univerſal. He aſſumes not the leaſt dignity, but has all the affability and inſinuation that is neceſſary for a perſon who would raiſe himſelf in a popular government."

The new Parliament being convened in January 1735, quickly diſcovered a diſpoſition to ſupport, with zeal not inferior to that of their predeceſſors, the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration. The King, in his ſpeech, expreſſed "his concern at the preſent commotions on the Continent; and though he had hitherto reſiſted the preſſing ſolicitations of the Court of Vienna for aid in this war, he hoped that his good ſubjects would not repine at the neceſſary means of placing him in a ſituation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him." The Houſe, in a grand Committee of Supply, voted, in conſequence of this ſuggeſtion,

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ſuggeſtion, near 60,000 men for the ſea and land-ſervice of the year; though not without the vehement oppoſition of the patriots, who demonſtrated the folly of taking any part whatever in theſe unintelligible and everlaſting broils upon the Continent, upon pretence of which this alarming augmentation of our military force was founded: and Sir William Wyndham remarked, "that notwithſtanding the long continuance of peace, ſuch had been the exorbitant charges and expences by ſubſidies and armaments, that the people had not been relieved from the burden of a ſingle tax impoſed during the preceding war."

A clauſe being inſerted in the addreſs, aſſuring his Majeſty "that this Houſe will cheerfully and effectually raiſe ſuch ſupplies as ſhall be neceſſary for the honor and ſecurity of his Majeſty and theſe kingdoms"—it was moved that the following words be added, "ſo ſoon as the proper information of the ſtate of public affairs ſhall be communicated to this Houſe, and in proportion to ſuch efforts as ſhall be made by ſuch of the allies who are under the ſame engagements as this nation, and who are not involved in the war." On the diviſion the amendment was rejected, by 265 votes againſt 185—a minority plainly indicative of the reluctance of the Houſe to engage as parties in the preſent war; in which it appears that England interfered ſo far, as to give extreme umbrage to

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the Courts of Verſailles and Madrid, though not far enough to render any real ſervice to the Emperor, who had flattered himſelf with the hope of a revival of the grand alliance in his favor.

Mr. Horace Walpole was not diſcouraged, however, from almoſt immediately moving for a ſubſidy to Denmark, purſuant to a treaty entered into by his Majeſty with the King of Denmark for that purpoſe; and which originated, according to the allegations of the mover, in a juſt and proper regard to the preſervation of the *balance of power* in Europe *—an expreſſion ſo inceſſantly in the mouth of this Miniſter, that he was commonly known under the ludicrous appellation of *Balance-maſter*. The leaders of Oppoſition treated the motion with indignant contempt. All the powers of Europe,

* The ſecret hiſtory of this Daniſh ſubſidy has already been tranſiently alluded to. It is *a myſtery of State*, involved in too much obſcurity and perplexity to be fully and completely developed. By this treaty, 80 crowns were allowed for each horſeman, and 30 for every foot-ſoldier: one half to be paid immediately on ſigning the treaty, and the remainder when the troops ſhall be *delivered*. Beſides this, his Majeſty the King of Great Britain engages to pay to his Majeſty the King of Denmark the annual ſum of 250,000 crowns *banco*, till ſuch time as the ſaid troops ſhall be taken into full pay, and the ſum of 150,000 crowns yearly afterwards. What a happineſs for Britain, that the equipoiſe of the political balance, whenever diſordered, may be ſo eaſily re-adjuſted, by the judicious application of theſe golden weights! No leſs than 178 members of the Houſe of Commons divided nevertheleſs againſt this ſo obviouſly wiſe and ſalutary meaſure.

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it was affirmed, were as much or more intereſted in the preſervation of this *balance* as England: and ſhould it ever be really endangered, they would certainly engage in its defence, without being hired to do ſo by Britiſh ſubſidies. But were England perpetually the firſt to take the alarm, and ſhould this practice of ſubſidizing be eſtabliſhed, every ſtate would expect a gratification for doing what it would otherwiſe be obliged to do for its own preſervation, and the whole charge of maintaining this balance would fall upon Great Britain. Even our allies the States-General might at laſt refuſe to aſſiſt in trimming this balance, unleſs the Grand Penſionary of Holland were alſo to become the *Grand Penſionary* of England." The queſtion being put, the motion was approved, and the ſubſidy granted by the Houſe. The Seſſion cloſing in May (1735), the King thanked his faithful Commons for the ſupplies they had granted with ſuch cheerfulneſs and diſpatch; and immediately after the prorogation, his Majeſty embarked for the Continent, leaving the Queen, as uſual, ſole Regent during his abſence.

For ſeveral years paſt, a ſtrict amity had ſubſiſted between the two Courts of Madrid and Liſbon, which was in the year 1728 cemented by a double marriage of the royal families—the Prince of Aſturias eſpouſing the eldeſt Princeſs of Portugal, and the Prince of Brazil the Infanta of

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Spain, formerly affianced to Louis XV. King of France—the Courts meeting in a temporary edifice erected over the bed of the Coya, which divides the two kingdoms, where the Princeſſes were exchanged. In the courſe of this year, however, the good underſtanding between them was unhappily interrupted by a frivolous diſpute, originating in a real or pretended violation of the privileges of the Ambaſſador of Portugal reſident at Madrid. The quarrel ran ſo high, that the Miniſters of the two Crowns were recalled, and warlike preparations made on each ſide. The King of Portugal, conſcious of his inability to encounter the power of Spain, nominated Don Antonio d'Alzeveda as his Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of London, to ſolicit the aid and protection of his ally the King of Great Britain. By the efficacious aſſiſtance of England had the independency of Portugal and the rights of the ducal and royal Houſe of Braganza been ultimately eſtabliſhed, after a conteſt of twenty-eight years: and as a juſt compenſation for this great ſervice, very important commercial privileges were conceded to the Engliſh nation by the Crown of Portugal; and thus the intereſts of that opulent but feeble kingdom became inſeparably connected with thoſe of Great Britain; and upon this potent alliance ſhe chiefly depended, and ſtill depends, for her exiſtence as a diſtinct and ſovereign power. Don Pedro,

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Pedro, who ſucceeded to the throne on the depoſition of his brother Alphonſo, died A. D. 1706, after a reign of thirty years. His ſon, Don Juan, faithfully adhered to the political engagements entered into by his father as a party in the grand alliance againſt the Houſe of Bourbon. But after the concluſion of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Court of Liſbon had cautiouſly avoided involving herſelf in the various contentions of the European powers. Upon the preſent occaſion the Court of London adopted, without heſitation, meaſures the moſt vigorous and deciſive. A powerful fleet, under the command of Sir John Norris, ſailed for the Tagus, in order to protect the coaſts and the commerce of Portugal; and particularly to convoy the Brazil fleet, then ſhortly expected richly laden, in ſafety to Liſbon. And Mr. Keene, the Britiſh Envoy at Madrid, was expreſsly commanded to communicate to his Catholic Majeſty the reſolution of the King of England to grant effectual ſuccors to his ally. Notwithſtanding ſome angry complaints on the part of Spain, of the partial conduct of England, this interpoſition completely anſwered the purpoſe intended by it; and an accommodation took place between the Courts of Spain and Portugal, before the concluſion of the year.

The ſucceeding ſeſſion of Parliament was diſtinguiſhed chiefly by a motion made in the Houſe of Commons, March 1736, for the repeal of thoſe clauſes

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clauſes in the Teſt Act, which barred or obſtructed the admiſſion of *Proteſtant Diſſenters* to civil employments. This motion, though ably ſupported, ſeems to have been ſomewhat unadviſed and unſeaſonable—as being brought forward, not merely without the concurrence, but contrary to the inclination of the Court, and at a juncture in no reſpect favorable to its ſucceſs. It is not, however, to be inferred, that the Court was really adverſe to the purport of the motion abſtractedly conſidered; but the Miniſter well knew the riſque and obloquy which might attend his open and avowed ſupport of this meaſure. He recollected, doubtleſs, that the utmoſt influence of the Crown had been unavailingly exerted in the late reign to procure the repeal of theſe clauſes, when a Bill for that purpoſe was moved by the late Earl Stanhope. His popularity had lately ſuſtained a rude ſhock, in conſequence of the attempt made to extend and invigorate the operation of the laws of revenue: and he dreaded leſt the cry of DANGER TO THE CHURCH ſhould produce effects ſtill more detrimental to his credit and ſafety, than that which ſtill vibrated in his ears, of LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE. Although he had, previouſly to the late election, flattered the Diſſenters with the hope of relief, he thought proper, therefore, when the motion was actually made, to oppoſe the repeal, as in preſent circumſtances inexpedient,

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pedient, impolitic, and improper; in conſequence of which it was rejected by a very great majority. The motion was, by a fruitleſs and injudicious perſeverance, revived in a ſubſequent ſeſſion of this Parliament, when it was again negatived by the ſame miniſterial majority. It is remarkable, however, that no conſiderable or laſting reſentment appears to have been excited in the breaſts of the Diſſenters in conſequence of this diſappointment: ſo well was it underſtood that the King was himſelf ſtrongly diſpoſed to favor the repeal, and that the Miniſter was actuated by motives, not of animoſity, but of an urgent and over-ruling political neceſſity. It muſt not be omitted, that in this ſeſſion the Parliament repealed the antient ſtatutes againſt conjuration and witchcraft, thereby relieving the Engliſh judicial code from a ſmall part of that heavy load of trumpery, abſurdity, and oppreſſion, by which, in the worſe than Egyptian darkneſs of paſt ages, it has been ſo unhappily and dreadfully diſgraced.

About this time a new ſect of religioniſts aroſe, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *Methodiſts*, who ſoon appeared to be divided into two diſtinct claſſes under their reſpective leaders, Whitfield and Weſley—prieſts of the Engliſh Church, regularly educated and ordained—the firſt of them adopting the Calviniſtic, the latter the Arminian dogmas in theology; correſponding in this reſpect to the

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ſects of Janſeniſts and Moliniſts, in the Gallican Church. Profeſſing ſtill to adhere to the communion of the Church of England, of which they boaſted themſelves to be the only true and genuine members, they yet indulged in the wildeſt flights and extravagancies of ſectarian fanaticiſm—preaching in the fields to vaſt multitudes—ſuffering with patience every inſult and outrage, and perſiſting, at the extreme peril of their lives, in thoſe ſpiritual labors to which they conceived themſelves called by a ſort of ſupernatural impulſe *. Many reſpectable perſons were of opinion, that the Government ought in ſome mode to interfere in order to check theſe novel and dangerous ebullitions of enthuſiaſm. But to the honor of the Government, not only was the idea of perſecution in every form rejected with abhorrence, but the protection of the law was extended to them upon all occaſions. And the wiſdom of maintaining inviolate

* "God in the ſcripture," ſays one of the leaders of this ſect, in very elevated language, "commands me, according to my power, to inſtruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, and confirm the virtuous. A diſpenſation of the goſpel is committed to me, and woe is me if I preach not the goſpel! In whatever part of the world I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of ſalvation. This is the work which I *know* God hath called me unto. And if it be his pleaſure to throw down the walls of Jericho, not by the engines of war, but by the blaſts of rams-horns; who ſhall ſay unto him, What doeſt thou?"—*Weſley's Works.*

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the grand principle of TOLERATION has rarely appeared in a more ſtriking point of view. In a few years the fanatical fervors characteriſtic of a new ſect, not being irritated and inflamed by the oppoſition of the civil powers, gradually ſubſided. And though the number of proſelytes was prodigious—part remaining in and part ſeceding from the Eſtabliſhed Church; no injury to the community has reſulted from this diffuſion of Methodiſtic principles. On the contrary, the good effects of their moral and religious inſtructions, though ſtill blended with much ſpeculative abſurdity and myſticiſm, are at this time apparent in the orderly and virtuous conduct of thouſands in their communities, who would otherwiſe have been ſunk in the depths of ignorance, vice, and barbariſm. And truth and juſtice require the acknowledgement, that many, both of the clergy and laity, who now paſs under the vague and popular denomination of Methodiſts, are perſons of the higheſt worth, talents, and reſpectability.

The tranquillity which prevailed throughout the kingdom at this time was unhappily interrupted by a tumult of a very ſingular nature, which took place in the city of Edinburgh, during the abſence of the King. It happened that, at the execution of a man convicted under circumſtances of peculiar hardſhip, by trial in the Court of Admiralty, as a ſmuggler, the military guard which attended were

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were groſsly inſulted by the populace; in revenge of which, Captain Porteous, the Commandant, was provoked to order the ſoldiers to fire upon the people, without the previous ſanction of the magiſtrate. In conſequence of this raſh and precipitate order, ſeveral innocent perſons ſuffering the loſs of their lives, Porteous was tried for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death; but the Queen, as Regent, thought fit to grant him a reprieve. The populace of Edinburgh, nevertheleſs, exaſperated in the higheſt degree at the conduct of this officer, who was well known to be a man of abandoned morals, determined that he ſhould not eſcape puniſhment: and on the very evening of the day on which, according to his ſentence, he was deſtined to ſuffer, the priſon of the Tolbooth was forced with ſuch order and deliberate reſolution, as afforded a ſtrong preſumption that it was the reſult of a plot formed by perſons far above the rank of thoſe uſually concerned in ſimilar outrages. Leaving the delinquent ſuſpended by the neck from a dyer's pole, they quickly and quietly diſperſed; nor was it ever diſcovered who were the perpetrators of this daring act of violence, notwithſtanding a reward of 200l. was offered by proclamation for ſuch detection. The Government, inflamed with reſentment at this atrocious violation of the laws, inſtituted a parliamentary inquiry into the circumſtances of this

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this extraordinary affair; in the courſe of which three Scottiſh judges in their robes were examined as witneſſes at the bar of the Houſe of Lords. And though it did not appear that the magiſtrates had been anywiſe deficient in their duty upon this occaſion, a Bill was brought in for diſabling the Lord Provoſt of Edinburgh from holding any office of magiſtracy in Great Britain—for aboliſhing the guard of that city, and for taking away the gates of the Nether-bow-port, which during this tranſaction had been ſhut, in order to prevent the troops quartered in the ſuburbs from entering the city. This Bill was oppoſed by almoſt all the Scottiſh repreſentatives, and many other reſpectable members of both Houſes, with great vehemence: and the Duke of Argyle, in particular, arguing againſt the principle of it, ſaid, that "he could not think of a meaſure more harſh or unprecedented than the preſent Bill; and he believed there was no inſtance of the whole weight of parliamentary indignation falling upon any individual, and far leſs upon any community, for crimes that were within the reach of the inferior Courts of Juſtice—that ſhould the preſent Bill paſs into a law, the Lord Provoſt and citizens of Edinburgh would ſuffer by a cruel, unjuſt, and fantaſtical proceeding—a proceeding of which the worſt uſe might be made, if ever the nation ſhould have the misfortune to fall under a vindictive, arbitrary, and

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and tyrannical adminiſtration"—an obſervation which ſubſequent events forcibly recalled to public recollection. Notwithſtanding all oppoſition, the Bill paſſed, and was carried into rigorous execution, to the great and inexpreſſible indignation of the whole Scottiſh nation. And this raſh and paſſionate attempt to vindicate the honor of the Crown by inſulting the majeſty and wounding the feelings of the people, afforded a new proof of the truth and juſtice of the obſervation of the celebrated Chancellor Oxenſtierne, "that it is wonderful by how ſmall a portion of wiſdom the world is governed." In the ſtead of theſe impolitic meaſures of revenge and degradation, it would have given pleaſure to every liberal mind, had occaſion been taken from this incident, ſuppoſing it to indicate any want of energy in the executive power, to reſtore to Scotland thoſe diſtinctions of national honor and authority of which that kingdom had been unneceſſarily and invidiouſly diveſted by the Treaty of Union. There appears no juſt reaſon why Scotland ſhould not have its own reſident great Officers of State, why its Privy Council ſhould be annihilated, why the High Commiſſioner of the Crown ſhould not, as in the times preceding the Union, be enabled to ſupport his elevated rank and ſtation in a manner ſuitable to the national dignity; and why the royal palace of the Kings of Scotland ſhould be ſuffered to exhibit a

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picture of melancholy and decay, ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from the ruins of BALCLUTHA. "I have ſeen," ſays the antient bard of Caledonia, "the walls of Balclutha, but they were deſolate. The fire had reſounded in the halls, but the voice of the people is heard no more. The ſtream of Clutha was removed from its place by the fall of the walls. The thiſtle ſhook there its lonely head; the moſs whiſtled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows; the rank graſs of the wall waved round his head. Deſolate is the dwelling of Moina; ſilence is in the houſe of her fathers."

In April 1736, the marriage of the Prince of Wales, who was conſidered as the determined enemy of the Miniſter, and the head of the Oppoſition, with Auguſta Princeſs of Saxe-Gotha, was celebrated; and in the courſe of the enſuing ſeſſion a motion was made by Mr. Pulteney, and ſeconded by Sir John Barnard, for an addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to ſettle 100,000l. per annum out of the Civil Liſt revenues upon the Prince*. This was violently oppoſed by the courtiers,

* The Prince of Wales highly reſented, and with great apparent reaſon, that out of a Civil Liſt of 800,000l. a revenue of 50,000l. per ann. only ſhould be allotted to him, although his father, when Prince, had 100,000l. out of a Civil Liſt of 700,000l.—nor does the ſum required by the Prince appear more than adequate to the ſuperiority of his rank and ſtation.

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courtiers, as an encroachment upon the King's prerogative; and it was finally negatived by a majority of 30 voices, the numbers being 234 to 204, though not without producing an entire alienation between the two Courts of St. James's and Leiceſter Houſe; and the Prince was not even permitted, in the laſt illneſs of the Queen, who expired November 1737, much eſteemed and lamented by the Engliſh nation, to implore her forgiveneſs or to receive her departing benediction.

At this period, a war broke out between the Ruſſian and Ottoman empires, occaſioned, as was pretended, by certain incurſions of the Tartar tribes into the Ruſſian territories: but in reality by the ambitious and eager deſire of the Court of Peterſburg to regain poſſeſſion of the important maritime city of Aſoph, which was one of the

As this reſolution of the Prince embarraſſed many who held places under the Government, and were at the ſame time deſirous to keep on fair terms with the ſucceſſor, he was adviſed by Mr. Doddington, afterwards Lord Melcombe, whom he admitted into his confidence, to apply to Parliament for an *additional grant* of 50,000l. per ann.; but the Prince replied, with a generoſity truly noble, "THAT THE NATION HAD DONE ENOUGH FOR HIS FAMILY ALREADY, AND THAT HE WOULD RATHER BEG HIS BREAD FROM DOOR TO DOOR, THAN BE A FARTHER CHARGE TO THEM." Many of the Tories, regarding the motion as dangerouſly democratic, left the Houſe in a body previous to the diviſion, though Sir William Wyndham had taken upon him to anſwer to the Prince for their concurrence.

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earlieſt acquiſitions of the Emperor Peter the Great, but which that monarch was afterwards compelled to ſacrifice, in order to extricate himſelf from the perilous extremity to which, in his laſt war with Turkey, he found himſelf reduced, on the banks of the Pruth. Aſoph was accordingly beſieged and taken; and when ſatisfaction and reparation were offered by the Porte, for the injuries ſuſtained by Ruſſia, the Czarina declared her reſolution not to relinquiſh her conqueſt. And the Emperor of Germany, being under obligation by treaty to aſſiſt the Ruſſians, became in a ſhort time a principal in the war, which proved to him only a ſeries of diſaſters. A peace was at length obtained at the expence of Orſova, Belgrade, and the entire province or kingdom of Servia, which were ceded by the Emperor to the Turks. The Ruſſians, who had, under the conduct of the famous Mareſchal Munich, made great progreſs in the reduction of the provinces north of the Danube, on their part reſtored Oczakow, Choczim, and Bender, and the poſſeſſion of Aſoph was confirmed to them by the Porte.

In the ſeſſion of Parliament held A. D. 1737, a motion being made for the continuance of the ſame number of land-forces as had been voted the preceding year, a vehement debate aroſe. For though, in our own more courtly days, a much larger number is annually voted almoſt as a matter

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of courſe, it was conſidered as one of the moſt important and moſt laudable objects of patriotiſm in theſe times to procure, if not an abolition, at leaſt a reduction, of a military force, deteſted and deprecated as uſeleſs, expenſive, and dangerous. In vindication of the motion, the miniſtry ſcrupled not to affirm, "that if the army was diſbanded, the *Tory intereſt* would quickly predominate—that the kingdom was filled with clamor and diſcontent, which a ſtanding military force only could effectually repreſs—that the ſupport of the *Whig intereſt* demanded the maintenance of this force; and it was hoped and preſumed that the Houſe would vote triple the number, if adjudged neceſſary for this purpoſe." The members of the Oppoſition replied, in their accuſtomed ſtrain of *vain reaſoning*, "that this vindication contained in it a ſentence of ſelf-condemnation—for to what cauſe could the ſpirit of clamor and diſcontent be aſcribed, but to the miſconduct of the miniſtry? and it was from their own acknowledgment clear, that what they were pleaſed to ſtyle the Whig intereſt, was in fact an inconſiderable party which had engroſſed the power of Government by indirect and unconſtitutional methods—which acted contrary to the ſenſe of the nation, and which depended for ſupport upon that very military force which was the grand ſource of the national diſcontent, which perpetuated the national taxes, and which menaced the national liberties

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ties with deſtruction. The claim of the miniſtry and their adherents in the Houſe to the appellation of Whigs, was warmly diſputed; and Sir John Hynde Cotton declared, "that a genuine Whig could never vote for a ſtanding army in time of peace. Whigs, ſaid this member, who are true to their principles, will oppoſe all unlimited votes of credit —will deprecate the corruption of the legiſlative power, as the greateſt curſe that can befall a nation —they will eſteem the liberty of the preſs to be the moſt invaluable privilege of a free people; and frequent Parliaments to be the grand bulwark of their liberties. A Whig adminiſtration would never ſuffer injuries done to the Britiſh commerce to paſs unnoticed, or inſults offered to the Britiſh flag to paſs unrevenged." It is remarkable, that Sir John Hynde Cotton was himſelf educated in Tory principles, and was in early life cloſely connected with the principal leaders of that once formidable faction. But the panegyric now pronounced upon Whig principles clearly and infallibly indicated, that the proper and peculiar tenets of Toryiſm— paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and the indefeaſible rights of royalty—were now fallen into contempt. The Tories were inſenſibly led, in the courſe of their oppoſition to the erroneous and unconſtitutional meaſures of government, to adopt conſiſtent and rational principles. The very name of TORY began to be conſidered as a term of

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reproach, and as ſuch was, in this debate, reſented and repelled. Still, however, in a certain ſenſe, Whiggiſm and Toryiſm have never ceaſed, and will never ceaſe to ſubſiſt. Whatever tends to enlarge the power of princes or of magiſtrates beyond the preciſe line or limit of the general good, whatever impoſes oppreſſive or even ſuperfluous reſtraints upon the liberty of the people, or introduces any ſpecies of civil inequality, not founded on the baſis of public utility, is of the eſſence of Toryiſm. On the other hand, genuine Whiggiſm is nothing more than good temper and good ſenſe, or, to adopt higher and more appropriate terms of expreſſion, benevolence and wiſdom applied to the ſcience of Government.

The theatre in the metropolis of Britain having been recently, in various inſtances, abuſed, as in antient times at Athens, to the purpoſes of perſonal and political ſatire, a Bill was at this period introduced for the prevention of this great and growing evil; agreeably to the proviſions of which, no new dramatic pieces could be exhibited without the expreſs licenſe firſt obtained of the Lord Chamberlain. This Bill paſſed through both Houſes with little oppoſition, excepting that which it met with from the Earl of Cheſterfield, who combated the principle of it with much animation and eloquence. His Lordſhip declared, " that he regarded this meaſure as of a very extraordinary and

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and dangerous nature; as a reſtraint not on the licentiouſneſs merely, but on the liberty of the ſtage; and as tending to a ſtill more dangerous reſtraint on the liberty of the preſs, which was intimately and inſeparably connected with the general liberty of the ſubject. He affirmed the laws, as they at preſent ſtood, to be ſufficient for the purpoſe of puniſhing ſeditious or immoral performances. The beſt, and indeed the only, mode of avoiding public ridicule and cenſure was, he ſaid, to avoid ridiculous and vicious actions; for the people will neither ridicule thoſe they love and eſteem, nor ſuffer them to be ridiculed. An adminiſtration deſtitute of eſteem or reſpect among the people will be cenſured and ridiculed, nor will the ſevereſt edicts be found of force to prevent it. If we agree to the Bill now before us, what ſhadow of excuſe can be ſuggeſted for refuſing to proceed a ſtep farther, and to extend the prohibition to printing and publiſhing thoſe dramas which are deemed unfit for public exhibition? Still political ſatires will appear under the title of Novels, Secret Hiſtory, Dialogues, &c.; but will you allow, my Lords, a libel to be printed and diſperſed only becauſe it does not bear the title of a play? Thus, from the precedent before us, we ſhall be gradually prevailed upon to revive a general IMPRIMATUR, and then adieu to the liberties of Great Britain. I admit, my Lords, that the ſtage ought

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not to meddle with politics, but for this very reason among others I object to the Bill before us; for I fear it will be the occaſion of its meddling with nothing elſe—it will be made ſubſervient to the politics of the Court only. This we know was actually the caſe in King Charles the Second's days; we know that Dryden, the Poet Laureat of that reign, made his wit and genius thus ſubſervient to the deſigns of the Court. When the ſecond Dutch war was in contemplation, he wrote his "Amboyna," in which he repreſents the people of Holland as avaricious, cruel, and ungrateful. When the Excluſion Bill was moved for, he wrote his "Duke of Guiſe," in which thoſe who were zealous for preſerving and ſecuring the liberties and religion of their country, were expoſed as a faction leagued together for the purpoſe of excluding a virtuous and heroic Prince from that throne which was his lawful right, on account of his adopting a faith different from their own. The peculiar province of the ſtage, my Lords, is, to expoſe thoſe vices and follies which the laws cannot lay hold of; but under the reſtraint of an arbitrary Court licenſe, it will be entirely perverted from its proper uſe. To a man bred in the habits of a Court, that may appear to be a libel againſt the Court which is only a juſt and ſalutary ſatire upon its vices and follies. Courtiers, my Lords, are too polite to reprove one another; the only

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place where they can meet with any juſt rebuke is a free, though not a licentious ſtage. But by this Bill, inſtead of leaving it what it now is, and always ought to be—a ſcourge for faſhionable vices—it will be converted into a channel for propagating them throughout the kingdom. Let us conſider, my Lords, that arbitrary power has ſeldom or never been introduced into any country but by ſlow degrees, ſtep by ſtep, leſt the people ſhould perceive its approach. When the preparatory ſteps are made, the people may then indeed ſee ſlavery and arbitrary power making huge and hideous ſtrides over the land, when it is too late to avert the impending ruin. The Bill before us I conſider as a ſtep very neceſſary to this purpoſe; and ſhould ſuch deſign ever be formed by any ambitious King or guilty Miniſter, he would have reaſon to thank us for having ſo far facilitated his attempt; though ſuch thanks, I am convinced, every one of your Lordſhips would bluſh to receive, and ſcorn to deſerve." The ill effects apprehended by this generous and patriotic nobleman have not, however, been as yet very apparent: and it muſt be acknowledged, that in a very few inſtances only does the invidious diſcretion veſted by this Bill in the Lord Chamberlain ſeem to have been capriciouſly or improperly exerciſed *.

In

* The GUSTAVUS VASA of Brooke, the MUSTAPHA of Mallet, and the EDWARD and ELEONORA of Thomſon, were in

In the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion the Houſe of Commons having reſolved itſelf into a grand committee

in the number of the Dramas rejected under the authority of this Act. The firſt of theſe performances is animated throughout by a noble and enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of liberty; but the writer proteſts in his prefatory remarks, "that he had nothing to fear or hope from party or preferment—his attachments were only to truth; that he was conſcious of no other principles, and was far from apprehending that ſuch could be offenſive." There were, however, ſome paſſages in this Tragedy which could not fail to be invidiouſly applied, if they could be ſuppoſed not invidiouſly deſigned. A ſpecimen or two may ſuffice:

"Are ye not mark'd, ye men of Dalecarlia,
Are ye not mark'd by all the circling world?
—Say, is not Liberty the thirſt, the food,
The ſcope and bright ambition of your ſouls?
Why elſe have you and your renown'd forefathers,
From the proud ſummit of their glittering thrones,
Caſt down the mightieſt of your lawful Kings
That dar'd the bold infringement? What but Liberty,
Thro' the fam'd courſe of thirteen hundred years,
Aloof hath held invaſion from your hills,
And ſanctified their ſhade? And will ye, will ye
Shrink from the hopes of the expecting world?
Bid your high honours ſtoop to FOREIGN INSULT?
And in one hour give up to infamy
The harveſt of a thouſand years of glory?

"Where is that power whoſe engines are of force
To bend the brave and virtuous man to ſlavery?
Baſe fear, the lazineſs of luſt, groſs appetites,
Theſe are the ladders and the grovelling footſtool
From whence the tyrant riſes on our wrongs.

Secure,

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mittee to take into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt, Sir John Barnard, Member for the City of London, a man whoſe patriotiſm was dignified by the extent of his knowledge, the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding, and the benevolence of his heart, moved for a Bill to enable his Majeſty to raiſe money either by the ſale of annuities, or by borrowing at an intereſt not exceeding 3 *per cent.*, which ſum ſo raiſed ſhould be applied towards the redemption of the South-Sea Annuities, allowing the preference of ſubſcription to the annuitants. Sir John Barnard remarked, "that even thoſe public ſecurities which bore an intereſt of 3 *per cent.* only, were now conſiderably above *par*; therefore there could be no room to doubt that the ſubſcription would immediately fill, were it a condition of the contract that the principal ſhould be made irredeemable for the term of fourteen years. When the South-Sea Annuitants were thus reduced, the ſame plan might be adopted for redeeming the capital of the other trading Companies, and, in time, of the whole public debt, without any violation of the public faith; that, by this means, the Sinking Fund would be ſo much increaſed, that in a few years the Parliament would be able to annihilate

Secure, and ſceptred *in the ſoul's ſervility,*
He has debauch'd the Genius of our country,
And rides triumphant, while her captive ſons
Await his nod—the ſilken ſlaves of pleaſure."

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thoſe taxes which lay heavieſt upon the laboring and manufacturing poor; and that the remaining part of it, if faithfully applied, would, in a ſhort time, free the nation from all incumbrances." By this motion, at once ſo popular, feaſible, and beneficial, the Miniſter ſeemed much embarraſſed; and it was clearly diſcernible that the Executive Government entertained no real wiſh or intention that the public debt, which ſo materially added both to its influence and its ſecurity, ſhould ever be liquidated. In order, therefore, to counteract the effect of a motion, which it would have been too hazardous openly and directly to oppoſe, Mr. Winnington, a zealous partiſan of the Miniſter, moved that all the public creditors, as well as the South-Sea Annuitants, ſhould be comprehended. To this Sir John Barnard objected, "that it might be eaſy for the Government to borrow money at 3 *per cent.* ſufficient for the redemption of a certain proportion of the public debt, though it might be extremely difficult, or even impracticable, to borrow money enough at once to liquidate the whole, amounting at this time to almoſt forty-eight millions." A Bill was, however, ordered in upon the baſis of Mr. Winnington's propoſition, which, being in the ſequel warmly attacked, and faintly defended, was finally poſtponed to a diſtant day by motion of the Miniſter; though there is great reaſon to believe, from the ſucceſs of a ſimilar and

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and more recent attempt, that the patriots in oppoſition formed an erroneous judgment reſpecting the difficulties attending its execution *.

In

* In the month of January (1737) died Dr. William Wake, who had filled the metropolitan See of Canterbury twenty-one years. Previous to his elevation to that high dignity, he had very honorably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the liberality of his ſentiments, and the vigor of his exertions both in Convocation and in Parliament, particularly in his conteſt with Atterbury on the nature and extent of eccleſiaſtical authority; and in a moſt conſpicuous manner at the ever-memorable trial of Sacheverel. As one of the ableſt and firmeſt champions of the Low Church Party he was advanced, on the death of Dr. Tenniſon, A. D. 1716, to the Archiepiſcopal chair; but he ſoon made it viſible that "Lowliness is young Ambition's ladder;" and when he had "attained the topmoſt round," he adopted, like his famous predeceſſor Becket, a totally new ſyſtem of principles and conduct. By the vehemence and pertinacity of his oppoſition, he eſſentially impeded on all occaſions the meritorious endeavors of the Court for the advancement, and ſecurity, of the general ſyſtem of civil and religious liberty. And in a more eſpecial manner he labored to counteract the grand effort made by that generous and beneficent ſtateſman, Lord Stanhope, under the auſpices of the late King, for the annihilation of thoſe odious diſtinctions which divided, and which continue to divide, the nation, and to perpetuate the animoſities of contending factions. Dr. Wake was ſucceeded by Dr. Potter, tranſlated from the See of Oxford—a man moroſe in diſpoſition, and in deportment haughty; but of extenſive learning and exemplary morals. After filling the metropolitan throne ten years, this prelate was ſucceeded by Dr. Herring, Archbiſhop of York, of whom it is difficult to be too profuſe in the praiſe. Placed at the head of the national communion, he appeared ſcarcely leſs pre-eminent in dignity of character than of ſtation; and the various excellen-

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In recording the tranſactions of the ſucceeding year (1738), it is unfortunately neceſſary to notice the violent miſunderſtanding which aroſe between the Regency of Hanover and the King of Denmark, reſpecting the petty Lordſhip of Steinhorſt, the revenue of which ſcarcely exceeded one thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*. The Caſtle of Steinhorſt, garriſoned by a ſlight detachment of Daniſh dragoons, was carried by aſſault, and the King of Denmark made great warlike preparations in order to revenge this affront, which moſt aſſuredly would never have been offered, had not Hanover depended upon the aid and protection of England. And the King of Denmark, conſcious of his inability to cope with Hanover, *and her* ALLY, had the addreſs to convert this incident to his own advantage, by concluding a convention with the King of England, agreeably to which he engaged to *hold in readineſs* a body of 6000 men for the ſervice of Great Britain. In return, Denmark, in addition to the ſtated pay of theſe troops, was to receive a ſubſidy of 250,000 crowns *per ann.*; *and the Lordſhip of Steinhorſt was ceded to Hanover*. When the Duke of Newcaſtle produced this treaty in the ſucceeding ſeſſion for

cies aſcribed by the poet to various contemporary ornaments of the Epiſcopal bench were in him happily conſolidated:

"Secker is decent, Rundle has a heart,
Manners with candor are to Benſon given,
To Berkely every virtue under heaven." POPE.

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parliamentary ratification, Lord Carteret earneſtly requeſted to be informed what uſe was intended to be made of theſe troops, as it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the articles of the treaty, that they ſhould neither be employed on board the fleet, nor be tranſported in whole or in part beyond ſea, nor ſerve againſt France or Spain, except in Germany or Flanders. His Grace, however, *not being at liberty to divulge* THE KING'S SECRETS, the ſubſidy was granted; and at the ſame time, in conſequence of a meſſage from the throne, ſtating the exigency of public affairs, a vote of credit conformable to a ſimilar reſolution of the Commons paſſed the Houſe, notwithſtanding the animated remonſtrances of Lord Carteret, who declared that nothing could be more dangerous to the Conſtitution than this practice, which was but of modern date in England; it was never heard of before the Revolution, and but rarely till the nation was bleſſed with the preſent adminiſtration. Such a demand, he ſaid, our anceſtors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with ſcorn. If a general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, his Lordſhip affirmed, were to become a cuſtomary compliment at the end of every ſeſſion, Parliaments would grow deſpicable in the eyes of the people; and it might be depended upon as an infallible conſequence, that when Parliaments were once perceived to be uſeleſs and ſervile, they would, by a rapid gradation, become arbitrary and tyrannical.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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